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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY GENADENDAL UNDER
THE INFLUENCE OF THE MISSIONARIES OF THE
UNITAS FRATRUM
1792 — 1892

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I n t r o d u c t i o n

Object of this thesis has been to underline a small facet of the influence of the Missionaries on the Coloured people at the Cape in the nineteenth century; to describe the impact of Christianity on Single social unit, which was a fusion of primitive Hottentot and slave elements, subject to strung Euro-pean (white) pressure, both economic and otherwise.

What was intended as a modest exploitation of the information available has resulted in a perhaps too lengthy treatise. But it is felt that the period of a century covered, warrants as full a discussion as possible.

it is hoped that this thesis has succeeded not merely in telling the story of the missionat Genadendal, but has emphasised the significant interplay of religious, economic and social contacts, ideas and problems in the development of Coloured society at the station. For Genadendal is an example of the growth of a Christian Mission in a colony of settlement.

the sources on which the thesis is based are in the main the periodical publications of the Unitas Fratrum. the English accounts are valuable for letters and contemporary articles by the missionaries, while those in the German language contain an almost complete set of annual reports from the Brethren on the stations. the valuable diaries, extant on the majority of the Moravian mission stations all over the world, as well as the correspondence at Genadendal had to be ignored for the purpose of this thesis because of their length. .his material, kept at Genadendal, is invaluable for the history of the missions in South Africa. It should be housed in a place where it will not be lout to posterity.

I am sincerely indebted to Rev. L.A. Schmidt, Rev. P.4. Schaberg, Mr. and Mrs. E. Weder and Berw. D. Wessels whose 'encouragement and assitance were invaluable to me in finding and selecting the material on which the thesis is based.

Abbreviations.

tier.	= Bericht.
Bklf.	= Baviaanskloof.
BO	= Miscellaneous Documents 1795 - 1803.
Br.	= Brother, Bruder.
C. of G. U.	= Cape of Good Hope Votes and Proceedings of parliament, 1856.
CO	= Colonial Office Records.
Exs. P. Accs.	= Extracts periodical Accounts of the Missions of the United Brethren, 1790 – 1834.
G.	= Genadendal, Gnadenthal.
Miss. Reg.	= Missionary Register 1819 – 1823.
.	m Nchr Rrichten aus der Brüdergemeine.
P. Aces.	= periodical Accounts of the Missions of the United Brethren.
V. Accs. or. Miss.	= Moravian Missions &c.
Vol.	= Volume.

I.

The Origins and Thought of the Unitas Fratrum.'

The Church that was to send the first protestant missionary, Georg Schmidt, to South Africa, was the Church

of the United Brethren.¹) This Church had its origins in the work of the great reformer Johann Huss. In 1451 a number of Brethren and Sisters formed the 'Unitas Præterea' at Künnewalde in Bohemia. It had a membership of 200,000 in 1531 but it was broken up during the Thirty Years War.²)

The remnants of this Church,³) and other German pietistic elements settled on the lands of Count Zinzendorf, at Herrnhut in Saxony. Here, on the 13th. August, 1727, they founded the renewed Church of the United Brethren. This community was imbued with the missionary spirit. The Moravian refugees, who had left their country because of their religious convictions, were in particular the carriers of this spirit. Count Zinzendorf, their patron, shared their fervour. With his sincere and pious belief in the Saviour, his zeal for the work of God, his community spirit and his talent for organisation, Zinzendorf was precisely the man to foster the potential powers of the Herrnhuters.⁴) Zinzendorf's aim in his own words was: "Die Bekehrung der Heiden, und zwar nur solcher, an die sich sonst niemand machen würde."⁵) On the 21st August, 1752, the first two missionaries were sent out from Herrnhut to the Danish colony of St. Thomas in the West Indies.⁶)

To understand the spirit of these missionaries, one must be familiar with the spiritual atmosphere at Herrnhut. The community at Herrnhut was a product of Pietism,⁷) and contained a number of different elements.

"On the one hand, it consisted of the Lutheran inwardness of Count Zinzendorf, a man of great personal charm and attractiveness, ...his aim was to unite the true lovers of Christ in small groups,

1) Georg Schmidt, *Die Opvolgers* p. 2. R

2)

L. i. Schmidt, *Lie Broederkerk en die Broederkerk in Genadendal*. 1940. p. 3.

ibid., p. 4.

4) Ad. Schulze, *Abriss einer Geschichte der Brüdermission. Herrnhut*. 1901. p. 2-4.

5) '1)⁴

ibid., p. 3. (The conversion of heathen, and only those to whom no one else would go.)

6) ibid., p. 5.

7) E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*. Vol. ii. London. 1931. p. 19.

rather after the earlier ideal of 'Luther and Spener's system of 'conventicles'. he never dreamed of the impossibility of uniting these supra-ecclesiastical groups with Lutheranism. On the other hand, the Herrnhut Community contained the sectarian impulse of the Moravian Brethren, who, having incidentally settled upon the Count's estate, became to him a 'chariot and warhorse for gaining the victory; in the process, however, his conventicle idea developed into that of a sect, organised on an exclusive basis, founded upon the voluntary principle, and upon Maturity in Christian experience, exercising powers of discipline and excommunication - a

body in which lay men exercised a spiritual ministry.⁴)

These

two conflicting tendencies fused, and because the Lutheran Church did not accept the 'conventicle' idea of the Count, a new Church was born of this fusion.

"...its chief aim was to attain the highest possible degree of inward piety and Christ-mysticism, by means of worship, organization, and education.")

Troeltsch describes the qualities of the Church of the United Brethren in the following words:

'The body- of the communicants was to be as pure as possible; and discipline was directed to this end. The small size of the community, its system of mutual control, its independence of the State, its legal character as an 'association' (rein), its various undertakings which arose in order to secure its existence, its urgent desire to win souls freely to Christ through missions to the heathen, above all the endeavour after an active purity of the Christian ethic which was to distinguish its members from the 'children of this world': all this gave the Church of the Brethren - partly with and partly

10. against

its will - a certain likeness to the sects..")

The ethic of the Moravians originated in the Lutheran tradition by Zinzendorf was tolerant, but through Calvinistic accretions it was also related to Puritanism.¹

One of the most important elements in the teaching of the United Brethren was their mysticism.

"The Count himself was its not outstanding representative - indeed, it was Zinzendorf who expressed this type of piety in a form which was intimate and spiritual,....Zinzendorf no longer regarded Pietism as an attempt to reform the church; to him it was a voluntary association of individuals who are united with the Saviour who is spiritually present and who can be found in the word,... He transformed Spener's conventicle ideal into a form of free Christian social life, through which he and the brethren, in this community guided by providence, have been

¹) ibid., p. 719-20. See Ad. Schulze, Abriss, p. 2-3 for a description of the Senfkorn-Orden.

9) ibid., p. 72j.

10) ibid., p.

11) *ibid.*, p. 720.

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granted a special relationship with the person of the Saviour.this Pietist Christ- Mysticism, and especially that of the Zinzendorf variety, always regarded itself as an entirely personal and private relation with the living Saviour."

This element in a sense contradicted the sectarian organization forced on Zinzendorf by the Moravian emigrants.¹²⁾

The personal piety evident in the writings of Schleiermacher, (Lutheran) and even Goethe, was of importance outside the Church. It is manifested in the practice of making and reading reports on the inner life of individuals.' In their missionary accounts this trait in their ideology is one of the most noticeable. Their influence on the rest of Protestant Christianity is greater than is generally realised. Their famous book of Biblical 'watchwords'¹⁴⁾ is printed in twenty-six different languages and 300,000 copies are sold annually. The membership of the Church is only 210,926.¹⁵⁾

The United Brethren have similarities with other 'sets' thereof; originated in this period; such as the Quakers and the Baptists.)

In other directions.... however, the relation between Moravian mysticism and ecclesiasticism is most obscure. Zinzendorf always considered himself in agreement with Lutheran theology. In reality, however, he only agreed with certain sections of Lutheran doctrine. With the ecclesiastical and sociological of Lutheranism he certainly did not agree' ¹⁶⁾

Actually there were closer affinities to the Calvinists than to the Lutherans.¹⁸⁾ 'This is one of the reasons why they found favour with the Calvinist colonists at the Cape.

Their sectarian ideals led, them to their belief in the 'dignity of work. ⁹⁾

the economic results,...soon appeared in the shape of an excellent and increasingly successful business life, characterized by integrity and frugality."

As the communities had to meet their own expenses and consisted mainly of poor people, this element was strengthened. By these methods they also paid for most of their missionary work.)

12. Broeltsch, p. 788-90.

13,) ibid., p. 790.

14) A calendar, in which every day of the year is placed under a Biblical text.

15) L.R Schmidt, Die Broedkerk, p. 4, 6.

16) E. Broeltsch, p. 719-20.

17) ibid., p. 789.

The missionaries, who came out to the cape in 1792 were, therefore, of the artisan class and aimed at creating a self-sufficient community at Genadendal.²¹) The Moravian communities did not provide all the lands for the missionary work. Throughout the Nineteenth Century this 'small but energetic Church' had many outside sympathisers. Financial aid came from many quarters and societies of friends of the Moravian Missions were formed in a number of European countries and America. In 1817 the London Association in aid of Moravian Missions was formed which contributed substantially to the funds of the mission until the end of the Nineteenth Century.²²) Besides, the missionaries at Genadendal report the arrival of aid in kind from sympathisers in England and the Continent.²³)

Earl Russell is reported to have said that the constitution of the church was the most skilfully and wisely balanced of any with which he was acquainted.²⁴) It combines both democratic and aristocratic elements. It is ruled by bishops, appointed by the supreme legislative body, or, when that is not in session, by the supreme executive body.²⁵) The legislative body, consisting of the General synod of the Church, has supreme authority. This body is convoked infrequently. When it is not in session a Directory acts with full powers. A special commission is appointed jointly with the Directory to deal with the affairs of the missionary work. To-day the various national branches of the Church care for certain mission fields, although there is mutual help when necessity arises.²⁶)

The Moravians have always been very careful in the selection of their missionaries. Besides, the number of missionaries in proportion to the total membership of the Church is very low. In 1903 Stewart estimated it to be one missionary for every sixty communicants, whereas other Christian Churches average one missionary for every 3,703

18) Troeltsch, p. 720.

19) J.7. Marais, *The Cape Coloured People*, Longmans. p. 143.

20) s. Troeltsch, p. 720-1.

21) J.S. Marais, p. 143. J. Stewart, *Dawn in the Dark Continent*. London. 1903. p. 91.

22) J. Stewart, pp. 90-91.

23) Periodical Accounts of the Missions of the United Brethren and *Nachrichten aus der Krüdergemeine*; passim.

24) J. Cartwright, p. 92-3.

25) *ibid.*, p. 93.

26) L.R. Schmidt, *Die Broederkerk*, p. 1.

communicants. They never seem to have lacked zealous missionaries prepared to preach the Gospel in the most forbidding regions. The list of applicants is scrutinised by the missionary department; the applicants are free to "accept or decline" the appointment, and they may choose the field they prefer.²⁷⁾

The missionaries of the United Brethren did not receive any special training until well into the second half of the Nineteenth Century. The emphasis was laid on the willingness of the applicants to serve as missionaries. As a result few really learned men went out into the field. After often they did not learn the language of the people they were preaching to.)

The infractions given to the missionaries were alas in saner terms and were meant to be corrected and supplement by actual experience in the field. Only in 1636 were more precise instructions worked out with particular reference to the different fields. The missionaries were instructed to do whatever they did "in the name of God". They were not to be held up to the halo congregations as martyrs. They were to work together in a spirit of brotherly love. Special care was to be exercised in the making of converts and in giving them positions of responsibility. The bringing of converts to Europe was in the beginning strongly disapproved of.²⁹⁾

Their attitude towards the heathens was such that they did not try to eradicate all non-Christian customs. They allowed such customs as did not directly interfere with Christian principles to be continued. They were for instance, prepared to baptize a polygamist and allow him to keep more than one wife but they did not allow polygamy among their ordinary converts. Baptized polygamists, however, were debarred from posts of responsibility in the congregation. The baptizing of polyandrists on the other hand was prohibited.")

They found by experience that the best method of influencing the minds of the reaction was to preach to them simply on the suffering and death of Christ for the sins of mankind. They found that this approach had far greater

²⁷⁾ J. Stewart., pp. 88-9. Until 1818 the final decision was often left to the drawing of the lot. Ad. Schulze Abriss, pp. 49-50, 133-5.

²⁶⁾ Ad. Schulze, Abriss, pp. 46-7, 136-8, 257-65.

²⁹⁾ Ibid., pp. 47-9, 135-6, 249-50. J. Stewart, p. 38-9.

³⁰⁾ Ad. Schulze, Abriss, pp. 56-70, 151-5, 262-7.

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effect than teaching about God. All the heathen seemed to have some notion about God, but they knew nothing of a merciful God and this appealed to them. After 18;4 this method of approach of the heathen was followed universally by the Brethren)

Zinzendorf's early aim as the gaining of a few select converts for the Lord and creating a Christian elite among the heathens. this early aim of the Brethren was modified, o. Leg to the fact that They made more converts than expected. the idea that communities on the lines of the original community at Herrnhut should also be formed among the heathens was introduced. in 1869 the idea of independent churches developing,; out of these communities was formulated by the General Synod. 32)

Artisans and traders have always accompanied the actual missionaries. In the beginning most of the missionaries were artisans and traders. Although the proportion of learned men to the traders and artisans has increased, the practice of sending out lay brethren as raters and artisans has not ceased. At first the line between lay brethren and ministers was not drawn very clearly. the lay brethren took part in the actual preaching of the Gospel and care of the congregation whilst earning an income for the mission station. the tendency been to draw this distinction more clearly. a missionary in the service of the society was allowed to work for private profit or own private property. 33)

the Sister, who went out as *the* wives of the

directly concerned in the mission work. They had thus to be carefully selected as well. A single missionary always had a wife selected for him by the mission directory at home.)

in their relations with the colonial governments the Brethren followed the principle enunciated in the Bible: let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. (Romans, 13. v. 1.) They did not attempt to influence the policy of the government directly, but indirectly they hoped that their influence would ameliorate the native policy of the colonial governments and that government would learn

1) Ad. Schulze, *Abriss*, p. 60; J. Stewart, p. 89.

³²) *ibid.* Schulze, *Abriss*, pp. 56-70, 151-5, 252-7.

³³) 1.4.3, do 267; J. Stewart, p. 261.

³⁴) Ad. Schulze, p. 56.

to appreciate Christianisation.³⁵⁾ This quietist attitude was probably a result of the fact that, unlike the English missionaries, most Moravians originally came from absolutist states of central Europe.³⁶⁾

In their dealings with other denominations Zinzendorf instructed the missionaries to let their converts know as little as possible about the divisions of Christianity and to be impartial when their converts did notice these divisions. In the beginning governments and other Churches showed marked opposition, but as they learned more about the United Brethren this attitude changed. During the nineteenth Century they were on friendly terms with missionaries of other denominations, and colonial governments in many cases favoured them.³⁸⁾ With regard to the European colonists a similar development took place, more gradual and less comprehensive.³⁹⁾

There were always close contacts between the missionaries and the congregations at home. Frequent visitations of the mission fields by important men of the General Synod were undertaken. In the regular reports the missionaries sent home and their wide circulation made the congregations aware of the developments in the missionary fields. Books were written about the work in foreign fields and some of Zinzendorf's hymns deal with the missionary effort.⁴¹⁾

The missionaries of the United Brethren, were interested in the genuine conversion of the individual rather than in mass conversions; they were practical, persevering and zealous. One of the most important reasons for these laudable qualities was their fervent religious conviction:

...they have some secret of religious life ... some ideal in their Christianity towards which they work without saying touch about it.")

unless the full significance of this factor is realised, it will be difficult to understand the self-denying work of the Moravians in South Africa.

³⁵⁾ Ad. Schulze; Abriss, pp. 66f., 157f.

) J. S. Marais, pp. 141-3.

³⁷⁾ Ad. Schulze, Abriss, pp. 37., 155f.

³³⁾ *ibid.*, pp. 15-7.

³⁹⁾ *ibid.*, p. 157f.

ibid., pp. 49, 135, 253f.

Al) *ibid.*, pp. 141-9, 52-7, 25b-262.

⁴²⁾ J. Stewart, pp. 66-6.

II

Georg Schmidt, 1709-1744.

Ziegenbalg and Böving, two German missionaries on their way to India, tried to arouse European Christendom to the degraded condition of the Hottentots without much success. Eventually two Dutch clerics, van Alphen and de Bruyn, asked Zinzendorf and the Herrnhuters to send a missionary to the Cape.¹)

The man selected for this task, Georg Schmidt, was born in 1709, the son of Moravian peasants. Hearing of the United Brethren, he journeyed to Herrnhut. Here he came to be "recognised as a young man of exceptional piety and devotion.") he was sent to Bohemia where he suffered six years imprisonment for the sake of his religious convictions. Zinzendorf chose him as the first missionary to the Cape.)

Immediately after the request for a missionary at the Cape had arrived in Herrnhut, Schmidt proceeded to Holland. Where he arrived in March, 1735. he at once began to learn Dutch. Zinzendorf's friends procured the necessary permission from the council of Seventeen. The Council insisted on a religious examination of the prospective missionary during which Schmidt "made a favourable impression upon the divines"⁴) When he had satisfied the clerical commission as to his faith and character, the Court of Directors gave their approval, granted him a free passage to the Cape and provided him with an introductory letter to Governor de la Fontaine who was instructed to "grant him every help and assistance in this good purpose."⁵)

On the 9th July, 1735, Schmidt's ship 't Huis te burg arrived in Table Bay. he immediately went to call on the new Governor Kervel. The Secunde, captain RhGenius, a born Berliner,⁶) invited him to stay at his home.⁷) The inhabitants of Cape Town were not over optimistic as to his

1) 1. Schmidt-Pretoria, *Der Kulturanteil des Deutschthums am Aufbau des Burenvolkes*. 1936. p. 247; J.T. Hamilton, *A History of the Missions of the Moravian church*. 1901. p. 14. Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 4-6.

2) J. du Plessis, *A History of Christian mission in South Africa*. 1911. Chapter, vii.

3) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, pp. 3-4; J. Schmidt-Pretoria, p. 110-111; H.G. Schneider, *Gnadenthal, die erste evangelische Missionsstation in Afrika. Herrnhut*. 1892. p. 13.

4) J. du Plessis, *A History*, Chapter vii.

⁵) *ibid.*, Chapter vii.

Noritz, *Die Deutschen am Kap, 1552-1606*. Weimar. 1936. p. 303-4.

success in converting the Hottentots.⁸) -Le Council of Policy likewise doubted that he would be successful. His arrival is recorded in the minutes of this body in the following way:

"And.., by the vessel 't Luis te Rensburg" there has come to land here a certain person named Georg Schmidt, with the purpose - if that be possible - of converting *tae* Hottentots from Heathendom to Christianity, all possible assistance shall be rendered to the aforesaid person for the prosecution of that pious work and the attainment of its good object.")

Schmidt was detained in Cape Town for a considerable period. During this time he made the acquaintance¹⁰ of the clerics in Cape Town and of the sincere Christians.¹⁰) The Dutch pastors, Le Sueur and. *Kok*, raised objection to *his* performing the sacrament of baptism, but *whether* they informed him that pastors of the Dutch reformed Church had the sole right to baptise is hard to say.¹¹)

In the beginning of September, as opportunity for his journey into the interior presented itself. Rampen, a corporal in charge of the Company's post at Zoetenelksvallei¹², was returning to duty.¹²) The Governor supplied Schmidt with provisions and instructed him to give him every assistance.¹³) Two Hottentots, Africo and Kibbodo (Kibido) travelled with them. The party arrived at the Company's post, on the 13th September, 1737.¹⁴) Schmidt first settled at hartebeestkraal near the Company's post at Zoetemelkevallei. He immediately began building a house. Some of the soldiers and the Hottentots helped him; the latter realised that he had not come to take away their cattle or their land. The house was soon completed, but Schmidt was to stay in it for only seven months. A number of Hottentots lived near the house, among them Africo.

Schmidt soon started the work of preaching the Gospel

⁷Extracts from Periodical Accounts of the Mission of the United Brethren, 1793-1834. Account of Voyage to and abode at the Cape by Georg Schmidt himself.

⁸Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 2; J. du Plessis, A History, Ch. vii.

) J. du Plessis, A History, Ch. vii.

) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 3; H.G. Schneider, G. p. 13.

11) J. du Plessis, Ch. vii.

12) H.G. Schneider, G. p. 14.

13) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 8.

14) Exs. ... Aces. Account by Georg Schmidt.

to them. He also attempted to teach them agriculture so as to make them live a settled life which would favour his work.¹⁵) his description of the Hottentots is not very favourable.

'The Hottentots are of a phlegmatic disposition, and sleep much in the day time. in a moonlight night they amuse themselves with dancing, caper-cutting, and singing, and at the same time watch over their flocks. (These flocks were often attacked by lions and leopards.) Their clothing consists chiefly of two sheep-skins sewed together and cut into 6-9 shape. These are kept greased and tied around their waist; but the common story of their wearing cheeps entrails round their arms and bodies is without foundation.

Indeed the women often wear thongs cut of bull's hide round their legs, but never entrails. Their riches consist in oxen, cows and sheep and their chief food is milk and boiled meat. instead of bread they eat wild roots, which they also now and then boil. They neither plant nor cultivate the ground, but rove with their cattle from place to place, whenever they can find the greatest quantity of provender. There they set up five or six tents under the control of a captain. They have neither divine worship or any ceremonies, and seem to believe nothing but that there is a great Lord of all, whom they call Iuileha, and a devil called Gaba 'alea, of whom however, they do not appear afraid."")

that the Hottentots near the post still lived in a nomadic state and that they still bred cattle and sheep.

His method of teaching these primitive people the Gospel would not have found the approval of modern missionaries, but the Hottentots listened to him perhaps because this was the first European who came to help them. He visited them at their fires, distributed tobacco among them and talked to them. Later he tried to learn the Hottentots language. This he found impossible on account of the numerous clicks. He therefore decided to teach them Dutch so that they could understand him. In October, 1737 he started a school for this purpose. He prayed with his pupils before and after the lesson and on Sundays he read them the Bible and spoke to them of the Saviour.¹⁷)

The proximity of the Company's post soon proved to be a drawback on account of the soldiery posted there. In February, 1738 he was 'given to understand' that he was too near the post.¹⁶) Pais means that having drawn lots he saw that

¹⁵) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 8.

¹⁶) Exs. Accs. Account by G. Schmidt.

¹⁷) Exs. J. du Plessis, eh. vii; Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 6.

¹⁸) . Accs. Account by G. Schmidt.

God wanted him to leave and showed him where to go. He moved to the opening of the Baviaanskloof where Genadendal now stands. Eighteen Hottentots, who had taken a deeper interest in his teaching, accompanied him. The acting Governor Swellensrebel, approved of this and allowed Schmidt the use of the land. Schmidt's friend and patron, Rhenius, instructed the corporal to assist him again in building.)

A beginning was made in what Schmidt called a 'desert place', on the 3rd April, 1753. Soon the missionary resumed his activities, apparently without much success. Willem, one of the Hottentots, alone was genuinely affected and pleaded with his people in the Hottentots language. Besides Willem, Kibbodo and Africo, seemed to be more interested than the rest.²⁰) The Sunday services were attended by between 35-50 natives.

In November, 1740, Schmidt wrote to Herrnhut about his success and his problems. The people who come to the meetings morning and evening tended their cattle and worked during the day. The school he had established did not last long as "these people do not love perseverance," and the task of teaching them "Low Dutch" was well nigh impossible. Yet he taught them to say a prayer before the meetings. His congregation consisted of 10 men, 10 women, 7 boys, and 5 girls, who were divided into classes. Fifteen could read the New Testament. He reminded the Brethren that he was alone and urgently needed an assistant.²¹) He had to contend with three major problems. First, there was the language barrier. Secondly there was the fact that the Hottentots including members of his congregation were prone to drunkenness.²²) even Africo and Kibbodo fell victims to this vice.²³)

Thirdly, the Hottentots were still nomads and trekked around with their cattle.²⁴) Once, when his wards had let their cattle stray onto the sown lands and had not remedied the matter when asked to do so, he discontinued conducting services and the school as a punishment.²⁵)

The attitude of the colonists towards Schmidt's work is

¹⁹) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 8-9.

²⁰) Exs. P. Aces. Account by G. Schmidt.

²¹) Exs. I. Aces. G. Schmidt, 18th Nov., 1740.

²²) H.G. Schneider, o., p. 15.

²³) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 10.

²⁴) H.G. Schneider, p. 15.

²⁵) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 10.

difficult to ascertain. probably most colonists were indifferent towards this remarkable man. His work did not affect their labour supply as that of later missionaries did. live dutch people visited him in November, 1738 and gave a favourable account of him in Cape Town.²⁶) Georg Schmidt did not confine his work to the Lottentots, but also preached the Gospel to the colonists. Besides Kampen he also converted the worthy corporal's successor, Martinsen,²⁷) and maintained contact with religious people at cape Town.²⁶)

in 1738 Kulenkamp's^s famous pastoral Letter arrived which branded the Herrnhutters and Zinzendorf as heretics. it had a detrimental effect on all the missions of the United Brethren in Dutch colonies. Zinzendorf immediately replied. Nitschmann and tiler, two missionaries of the United Brethren on their way to ceylon in 1739 carried a letter containing the count's refutation of Kulenkamps charges. Pa it was signed by the members of the Glassis of Amsterdam, it eased Schmidt's position for some time.)

Schmidt had fairly close contact with the community in herrnhut. Zinzendorf wrote to him reminding *hint* of the importance the Brethren attached to the death of Christ.³⁰) The visits of Nitschmann and Eller, who were at the Cape on their voyage to and from Ceylon strengthened the lone worker in his purpose.³¹) the community at herrnhut twice unsuccessfully attempted to send him an assistant.³²) Zinzendorf then sent him a regular letter of ordination empowering him to baptize. Schmidt as overjoyed when he collected the letter at Cape Town in March, 1742. Ultimately this new power conferred upon him was to prove his undoing.³³)

the return journey to Baviaanskloof, schmidt baptized Willem in a rivulet, "in the name of the Son who has died for us and in the Name of the Father and in the lane of the Holy Ghost." He gave Willem the name of Joshua. later at Baviaanskloof he baptized four other members of his congregation whom he considered worthy of this important step.

²⁶) Exs. 2. Aces. Account by G. Schmidt.

²⁷) H.G.. Schniëder, G., p. 15.

²⁸) Schmidt en sy Opvelgern, p. 11.

²⁹) du Plessis, A history, Oh. vii.

³⁰) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 13.

³¹) Exs. r. Aces. Account by Schmidt.

³²) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 14.

³³) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 14-15; Exs. 2. Aces. Account by G. Schmidt.

Later they slipped back into their old ways and returned to the kraals and absented themselves from the meetings.)

At Cape Town the baptism astonished the populace and aroused the Dutch R

own sent for Joshua and Christian (Africo) and examined Lem. They were surprised at their knowledge and sent them back exhorting them to remain in obedience to their teacher and to what he had taught. ³⁵⁾ They also summoned Georg Schmidt himself to the Cape and he was interrogated by the clergyman and the Council of ranees. He remained firm about **his right to baptize.** the Council warned him that he could no longer baptize until the authorities in Holland had given a decision. ³⁶⁾

three Dutch ministers at the Cape assembled in Cape Town and wrote to the classis of Amsterdam, to which the Dutch Reformed Church at the Cape was affiliated. they formed the Classis that Governor Swellengrebel had prohibited Schmidt from carrying out any further baptisms. they maintained that Georg Schmidt was not entitled to teach as he did not conform to the rules of the National Christian synod, nor had he been examined by this body. They pointed out that he taught the faith of the Herrnhut sect. His authority to baptize had been conferred illegally by a written Bull or Act of Count Zinzerlour and not by the Classis.

Hottentots had been baptized irregularly, not before a full congregation. the baptized Hottentots were not fully versed in the principles of Christianity and, as Schmidt had not been ordained by the laying on of hands, they could not partake of the Holy Communion immediately after their baptism as required by the Dutch Reformed Church. They requested the Classis to send out **Krankenbezoekers** or schoolmeesters to look after the interests of the Hottentots in the place of Schmidt. ³⁷⁾

The answer of the Classis intimated that the Synods of North and South Holland had pronounced the baptisms of the Herrnhutters out of order. They promised to send out suitable men "to instruct the unfortunate Hottentots and others

³⁴⁾ Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 15-16.

³⁵⁾ z. Aces. Account by G.

³⁶⁾ Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 17-18.

³⁷⁾ C. Spoelstra, Bouwetoefen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederduitsch-Gereformeerde Kerk in Zuid-Afrika. 1906. deel I. p. 195f.

beyond the mountain (Over Berg"³⁸) In the middle of the Eighteenth Century the principle of cuius r e g i o, **illius** r e l i g i o was as yet too strong for the Classis to allow a missionary of a denomination not their own to preach at the Cape. besides, the Company feared that a non-reformed church in the Colony would cause dissension.

without waiting for the answer of the Classis, Schmidt informed the Brethren that his position at the Cape was untenable and the best course of action would be for him to return to procure more favourable conditions from the authorities in Holland.³⁹) In August, 1743, he received letters from Herrnhut advising him to return. Entrusting his garden to Christian, Schmidt took leave of his small congregation on the 30th October, 1743.

he was granted a free passage to Holland by the Council of Policy. Swellengrebel, Rhenius and others gave him testimonials of good conduct. the Governor promised to protect the Hottentot community at Baviaanskloof. Schmidt left Table Bay on the 4th November 1744 and arrived in Texel three months later.⁴⁰)

The congregation left at Baviaanskloof consisted of eleven married couples, eight single men, nine boys and eight girls. his small community of forty-seven Hottentots apparently held together for the first few years.⁴¹)

Schmidt's and Zinzendorf's subsequent efforts to obtain the permission of the Council of Seventeen for Schmidt's return were unavailing for two reasons: the denominational jealousy and deference to 'public opinion' in the Colony.⁴²)

Martin Schwabler, a former servant of the Company at the Cape, decided to continue the work. he was one of Georg Schmidt's European converts. Schwabler left Europe in 1748, ostensibly to seek re-appointment with the Company, but in reality to proceed to Baviaanskloof.⁴³)

he reported that the community at Baviaanskloof longed for their old teacher.⁴⁴) Schwabler did not leave any traces

Schmidt Spoelstra, Bouwstoffen, Deel II. p. 41J.

39) en sy Opvolgers, p. 18.

J. Du Plessis, Ch. vii; Exs. re, Aces. Account by G. Schmidt
41) Zxs. .0. Aces. account by G. Schmidt.

42) Schneider, G., p. 23.

Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 19; A.G. Schneider, U., p. 32f.

44) ibid., p. 19; ibid., p. 33.

on the life of the community* tie died during an epidemic in 1756. This was reported by Wynstrauch, another of Schmidt's converts. he also reported that the congregation held together till Joshua (Willem) and Christian (Africo) died in 1755 or 1756, but in 1758 Baviaanekloof was deserted. In 1760 some Indian missionaries of the United Brethren were assured in Cape Town that the Hotetentots had not forgotten Schmidt and that some of the baptized were still alive.⁴⁵) Schmidt, back in Germany married and continued in the service of the Church of the United Brethren, he died on the 1st, August, 1785, in the hour that he had, set aside to pray.⁴⁶

United Brethren did not forget its South African station. In 1789, the Synod of the United Brethren decided to renew its work at the Cape.⁴⁷) the attitude in Holland towards the Unitas ratrum had changed, with the diffusion of their ideas. A congregation of the United brethren was established at Zeist, and the authorities began to appreciate the value of their work in the colonies.⁴⁸) At the Cape the attitude towards the missionaries, especially among the clergy had undergone a change as well. Two young reformed ministers, an tier and Vos, brought the 'missionary spirit' out to the Cape with them and conducted services for the Hottentots. Thus when Bishop Michel xxx visited the Cape on his return from India, he realised that the tide had turned.⁴⁹) After the Lutherans had received permission to form their own congregation it would have been illogical for the Company and the clergy further to resist the establishment of a 'Lutheran' mission.⁵⁰)

In 1789, the 'United Brethren petitioned the Company to permit them to send, three Brethren to the Cape. they were to be permitted to choose a suitable location in the interior under the protection of the Company where they would be able to administer the sacraments, preach the Gospel and form a congregation. they further petitioned that they should have the power to appoint and dismiss the missionaries. The Brethren were to sail in a Company's ship at a reasonable price. They promised to avoid everything that would cause resentment among the established churches at the Cape. this plea.

⁴⁵) H.G. Schneider, ., p. 33-34.

Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 20.

⁴⁷) Exs. P. Aces. 1790.

⁴⁸) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 544-5.

⁴⁹) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 21.

⁵⁰) v. du Plessis, t.41. ix.

tition was granted under three conditions. The number and names of the missionaries should be made known to the Company, they were not to settle in a place already occupied by a Christian congregation, and the missionaries should not be dismissed or appointed without the knowledge of the Company. these conditions, fair in themselves, were open to varying interpretations. The second condition was exploited by certain persons in an attempt to drive the missionaries out of the Colony into the interior.⁵¹ It was under these conditions that Karsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel resumed Schmidt's work at the Cape.

?1) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 37-8.

III
missionaries and their work at Genadendal
1772:-187:—

The century of missionary work in Genadendal from 1792 to 1892 can be divided into four periods. The first period of initial difficulties and of consolidation, stretches from the first arrival of missionaries to the visitation of Brother C.I . Latrobe in 1816. The second period, one of vigorous expansion and improvement commences with the stimulus given by the visitation of Latrobe and ends with the death of the beloved and energetic organiser, bishop Hans Peter Ballbeck in 1840. The third period is characterised by the increasing opposition of both the inhabitants at Genadendal and the Colonists to missionary work. It extends from 1840 when C.L . Teutsch became Superintendent till the 1860ies when Künnel became Superintendent and Berea was founded. The fourth period ushers in developments making for the independence of the Church of the United Brethren in South Africa especially after the division of the mission field into an Eastern and a Western province in 1859. It really only comes to a close in 1922 when the first Church Conference for South Africa West was held.¹) It is a period where the missionaries increasingly realise that the ideal of a Coloured community on the pattern of the Herrnhut community, is no longer practicable because of the early effects of the Industrial Revolution in the Cape.)

F i r s t P e r i o d.

The three first missionaries, Hendrik Marsveld, from Gouda in Holland, Daniel Schwinn from Erbach in the Odenwald and Johann Christian Kühnel from Ober-Seiersdorf in the Lausitz were all ordained deacons of the Church of the United Brethren.³) They arrived in Cape Town in November, 1792 and were cordially welcomed by all those sincerely interested in missionary work. They stayed in the home of one of these friends. The government advised them to proceed to the place where Schmidt had worked as there were still Hottentots there.⁴) They proceeded with Teunissen, the commander of the Company's post Zoetemelkswaai, into the interior. On the 24th December, 1792 they reached Baviaanskloof. They found

1) L.R. Schmidt, Die Broederkerk, p. 12.

2) Nachrichten aus der Brüdergemeine 5. heft, 1885: Bericht von Gandenthal 1884; 1. heft, 1888: Bericht von Gnadenthal Jul—Dez., 1886.

3) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 40.

4) Exs . Aces. journal of aviaanskloof , rov., 1792-14ch., 1793.

ruins of Schmidt's house and some of the fruit trees he had planted.⁵) A little further away they found the only remaining baptized convert of Georg Schmidt, Old Lena or

Magdalena⁷. after greeting the missionaries with the words:

'hank' be to God." she produced a Dutch New Testament concealed in a leather bag covered with sheepskin, in parch

a new building at Baviaanskloof had been erected by the Hottentots assisted by two Coloured neighbours. The missionaries then moved to their new home from Zoetemelksvallei.

They immediately commenced teaching the Hottentots and they had an attendance of twenty—five on the first day. It was⁶ not necessary for them to go out and seek Hottentots.^j

in July, 1793 the first baptism took place. At the end of 1794 the congregation consisted of thirty—six baptized persons.⁷) The only major setback at this time occurred in

1795 when the missionaries were ordered, by the insurgent leader Pisani to leave Baviaanskloof. They retreated to⁸ Cape Town, but soon returned and recommenced their work.⁾

The British government was generous in the permission and help it gave for the building of a chapel at Genadendal. The first temporary chapel was dedicated in March, 1796. In the years 1799–1800 the church, which was in use till 1692 and could^{seek} over a thousand persons, was erected.

Before this, reinforcements had been sent out. Brother and Sister Kohrhammer arrived in May, 1798, and thus the first woman missionary commenced work at Baviaanskloof. Two years later, Schwinn returned from a visit to Germany to, with his wife, Brother and Sister Aase, and the two brides of Marsveld and Rose, who had been a missionary in Labrador, was sent out to cope with the precarious financial situation, which had arisen on account of the many visitors at Baviaanskloof and Schwinn's confused bookkeeping. When he arrived there were about 130 at the station. Rose was an efficient and vigorous man. His early death in 1805 was a great blow to the mission.⁹) The period of Batavian rule brought steady improvement at Baviaanskloof and in 1806, Governor Janssens suggested the name Genadendal which has since been the name of the first missionary station at

⁵) Afrikanischer Reimatkalender 1948. G.P.S. Trümpelmann
Der Birnbaum von Gnadenhal. p. 57.f.

⁶) Exs. Accs. Journal Bk/f. Nov., 1792–Mch., 1793.

⁷) *ibid.*, Journal Bk/f. 1794.

⁸) G Schneider, *ibid.* p. 134–6.

ibid., p. 152–64 Exs. P. Accs. Journals Bk/f. 1795–1805.

the Cape.¹⁰) The permanent British administration of the Colony since 1806 was es sympathetic. Caledon suggested a new station at Groenekloof in 1808. Kuester and Schmitt sad just arrived and there were thus enough missionaries to start the work there.¹¹) After this, there followed a regular flow of missionaries into the country until in 1611 there were six married Brethren at Genadendal alone.¹²)

N^otrhammer died in. June, 1611 and Kühnel in April, 1613.¹³) The measure of the Brethren's work in this period can be ,gauged from the numbers quoted in the diary for 1612. The congregation then consisted of 676 persons, of 'thorn 296 were communicants, while there were 1073 persons living at Genadendal.¹⁴)

Second Perio d.

visitation of Latrobe, the society's secretary in London, in 1816 had a stimulating effect on the mission. **It was during** his visit that the overseers' or 'opzieners' conference was established and the Rules and regulations formulated which were to play so important a part in the secular administration of , Genadendal.¹⁵ .t was due to his insight tat the able Hans Peter Hellbeck was entrusted with the task of leading the mission in South Africa.

hallbeck reached Genadendal early in 1318 and immediately commenced labouring, vigorously for the expansion of the mission. four more stations were founded during his period of office (1818), Him (1824) - to relieve the con-¹⁶ gestion at Genadendal - Shiloh (1823), and Clarkson (1839).¹⁶)

at concerns us here are the improvements which hallbeck initiated at Genadendal in the educational and administrative field. he was mainly responsible for l.l.e establishments of **the infant** school (1831) and the training School (1338).

Durin_g his term of office the rules and regulations were revised and approved of bi_g the Governor. In the main they remained unaltered from 1827 till 1892. In 1638 the emanci-

10) Papers Relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Inhabitants of Southern Africa in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Part I. Extracts from Notes of P.B. Borchard

11) Periodical Accounts of the Missions of the United Brethren. LII: Letter from Kühnel, G., 12th Jan., 1808; LIV: Diary of Genadendal, Jan. - Feb., 1808.

12) *ibid.*, LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811.

13) *ibid.*, LXIII: Diary G., Aug., 1810 - Jan., 1811; LXIX: Diary G., Jan., - Apl., 1813.

14) *ibid.*, LXVI: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1812.

15) C.I. Latrobe, Journal of Visit to South Africa, p. 389-90.

16) L.R. Schmidt, Die Broederkerk, p. 8.

pation of the slaves affected Genadendal. Hallbeck was responsible for the admittance of many freed slaves. **Au** steered the mission of the United brethren through the troubled waters of the days of Dr. Philip in such a manner that there were few if any, outbursts by the colonists against the Brethren, although Hallbeck personally held much the same views as Dr. Philip.¹⁷) Hallbeck¹⁸ also showed his vision by commencing services at outposts.) with the death of Hallbeck on the 25th, November, 1840, a period of steady, vigorous improvement **in** Genadendal came to an end. The congregation at the end of 1840 numbered 2,187 souls, of whom 693 were communicants.¹⁹)

Third Period

Brother C.L. Teutsch took over Hallbeck's work and inaugurated a period of consolidation. During his time the congregation gradually increased until at his death and the succession of Kölbing in 1852 the number of 3,000 had been reached. This seemed to be the saturation point of Genadendal for thirty years later the number was approximately the same.^{20N}) Doubts as to the legality of the rules and regulations, opposition of a section of the residents to the missionaries and the effects of the increasing power of the colonists in the Cape government began to make themselves felt.') into this period also falls the visitation of Genadendal by Bishop B. Breutel, who arrived in 1853.²²) In 1858 Genadendal was granted a legal title recognising it as a 'grant station' held in trust for the Coloured inhabitants by the Superintendent.²³)

Fourth :period.

With the succession in 1861 of Brother F. *. Kühn as Superintendent,²⁴) Genadendal was fairly set on the road towards independence from the mission Directory in Europe.

17) Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlement) together with Minutes of Evidence. (Hallbeck) 1836. exs. -. Aces. Hallbeck, 9th Jul., 1834.

Nchr. ., 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1339.

19) *ibid.*, 1. 1843: Ber. Gs, 1640.

20) r. Aces. CCXIX 1853: C. A. Kölbing, G., 13th Jan., 1853. Nchr., 4. 1890: Ber. Gs, 1888.

¹) k. Aces. CCX 1851: C.L. Teutsch, G., 5A1 Wt., 1850.

²²) *ibid.*, CCXX/II 1854: C. A. Kölbing, G., 14th Oct., 1853. Nchr., 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

³) e. Accs. CXL 1858: C.R. Kölbing, G., 15th May, 1858.

²⁴) *ibid.*, CVLili 1861: B. Marx, G., 13th Jun., 1861.

Men Kühn departed for Europe in 1865 to take up an appointment on the mission Board, Bechler succeeded him as Superintendent.²⁵) He continued the policy already commenced in the previous period and which Kühn had accentuated in the foundation of Berea, viz., that of decentralisation.²⁶) The work at the outstations of Twistwyk, Greyton and Kopjes Kas-teel now became even more important. Towards the end of this period the missionary policy had to adapt itself to the emergence of an industrial migratory labour force. The missionaries followed the workers from Genadendal into Cape Town and up and down the railway lines.²⁷) With a supreme effort the congregation was able to find the funds necessary to erect a new jubilee Church, inaugurated by Bishop Buchner during his visitation in March, 1893.²⁸) The economy of the community at Genadendal was very precarious in the last decades of the century and the missionaries were desperately trying to find new 'industries' for the community.²⁹) The division of the South African mission field into two separate provinces paved the way towards the independence of the Moravian Church in the Western Cape.³⁰)

This brief historical summary will now be supplemented by a survey of the Moravian methods and the results they achieved.

The aim of the missionaries at Genadendal was to Christianise the Hottentots and this implied civilising them as well, for - in their opinion - the converts had to be gathered together in a community to receive effective religious instruction.³¹) Within a Christian community only was it possible to create the most propitious conditions for their wards to experience a truly personal and individual relation to their Saviour. The methods the Brethren used to achieve this can be grouped under three major heads, the religious care for the individual, the inculcation of Christian principles upon the community, and the actual preaching of the gospel to the inhabitants as a group. After an exposition of these measures the various obstacles hampering

²⁵) P. Aces. CCLXXI 1866: W.F. Bechler, G., 9th Nov., 1865.

²⁶) Nchr., 3. 1868: Ber. Berea, Jun., 1865 - Dez., 1866.

²⁷) ibid., 1. 1888: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1886.

²⁸) P. Aces. 14. 1895. A Red Letter Day for G.

²⁹) Nchr., 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. Jul., 1886.

³⁰) L.R. Schmidt, Die Broederkerk, p. 11-12.

³¹) Select Committee Aborigine, Evidence, Hallbeck, 1836.

their effectiveness and the factors facilitating the Christianisation of the detribalised Hottentots will be described.

perhaps the most conspicuous element in the work of these devoted Brethren is the conscientious care they lavished on the individual convert. They have been criticised for this and it is said on account of this that their converts lack strength of character.³²⁾ As soon as the individual joined the community he was immediately put into his station in the hierarchy of church privilege. The lowest rank was occupied by the 'Dew People or 'hehrlinge.³³⁾

They comprised people who had been permitted to reside in the institution but were not yet converted. They were visited individually by the missionaries. As soon as the missionaries were of the opinion that they sincerely wished to embrace the Christian faith, they were considered as candidates for baptism.³⁴⁾ During this period they underwent special instruction and their motives were continually investigated by means of the so called 'speakings'.³⁵⁾ Great caution was exercised in selecting candidates for baptism, as the aim

of the missionaries was to gain sincere converts. Thus by Januarys, 1799 the missionaries had only baptised 114 adults and 85 children, out of a population of nearly 800.³⁶⁾ After the missionaries had satisfied themselves that the candidate truly merited baptism, the test of determining by means of drawing lots, whether Christ approved of the baptism, was carried out. This method was used to determine advancements in church privilege in the beginning.³⁷⁾

General Synod of 1818 no longer considered the drawing of lots to be essential for important decisions.) Children of baptized parents received a different treatment. The

Brethren were not opposed to infant baptism. But since (Christian children were considered unable to benefit by religious instruction, they received the necessary instruction later.³⁹⁾

When the Brethren considered the baptized to be ripe for a

32) J. Stewart, p. 85.

33) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 167-8.

34) P.Accs. LXV: Diary G., Jan.-Jun., 1812.

35) C.I. Latrobe, p. 100; k. Aces. LXVI: Diary G., Jul. - Des., 1812.

36) Exs. k. Acca. Account of laying foundation stone of church, 8th Jan., 1799.

37) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 87.

38) Ad., Schulze, Abriss, p. 133r.

39) Nchr. 2. 1819: Ber. G., 1817.

further advancement in church privilege, he was admitted to the class of the Candidates for Communion. Here again he received special instruction.⁴⁷⁾ There were speakings with him which the missionary and his wife, who reviewed the candidates spiritual life with him reported to the conference of missionaries.⁴¹⁾ When the candidate was considered sufficiently advanced in his experience of the Saviour, he was permitted to partake of the Holy Communion. When the converts had reached this final stage they were by no means exonerated from the strict supervision of their thought and actions. They were still expected to attend the 'speakings'.⁴³⁾ The main criterion for the advancement from one rank to another was not the knowledge of Christian principles or some other external attributes, but the sincerity of the individual's faith, there are instances of persons permitted to attend Communion although unable to speak Dutch.)

The missionaries were always prepared to give individual advice on spiritual matters and the converts with problems were expected to interview them and they did so.⁴⁵⁾ The first three Missionaries were overwhelmed with such visits as all, who attended the services, felt that they had to see the missionaries individually after each service, but this was stopped in May, 1795.⁴⁶⁾ Regular meetings with the various classes were, however, organised in which the emphasis was on conversations between the missionaries and the individual convert, known as 'Speakings'. Such meetings were even organised for the members of the congregation who had been deprived of their church privileges but were still living in the institution.⁴⁷⁾ Besides 'class speakings' there were fairly frequently so called 'general speakings' when every member of the congregation was spoken to indi-

⁴⁰⁾ G. Latrobe, p. 100ff.

⁴¹⁾ Missionary Register, Oct., 1820: Diary G., Jan. - Jun. 1819.

^{42) Nchr} . 6. 1821: her. G., Jan. - ai, 1819.

⁴³⁾ P. Aces. Diary G., Aug., 1810 - Jun., 1811; Nchr. 2. 1839: tier. (h, 1836; C.I. Latrobe, p. 132.

⁴⁴⁾ P. Aces. LXV. Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1812.

⁴⁵⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 101; k. Aces. al: Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1812; Exs. k. ACCS. Journal (h, 1795.

⁴⁶⁾ Exs. r. Aces. Journal G., 1795.

⁴⁷⁾ P. Aces. LIV: Diary G., Jan. - Feb., 1808.

⁴⁸⁾ e.g. Nchr. 3. 1845: Bar. G., 1842, 2. 1854: her. 4. Jan. - Jun., 1852; Exs. P. Aces. Journal G., 1795.

vidually.⁴⁸⁾ In the beginning it was possible to reach every member of the congregation in this manner but in 1857 only about a thousand attended.⁴⁹⁾ The 'speaking' classes were divided according to sex, the Brethren speaking to the men and the Sisters to the women. When Sister Kohrhammer arrived in Lay, 1798, she immediately took up the duty of speaking to the women of the congregation individually.⁵⁰⁾ The missionaries visited members of the congregation, especially when these requested it. They were thus often present at the death of members of the congregation.⁵¹⁾

As the number of inhabitants increased it was found necessary to adapt this system, although the principle of strict individual care was maintained. In 1658 the community was divided into a number of sections and a Brother and his wife were made responsible for each section. By this method more frequent visits to individuals in their homes could be made.⁵²⁾ In December 1666 this system was further improved upon. Genadendal was divided into five districts. To the duties of a Brother and his wife in charge of a district, which so far had been restricted to visiting and comforting the sick was now added the responsibility for conducting the 'general speaking' as well as the class 'speaking'. The reform increased the amount of individual attention received by (each member of the congregation.) In the individual care of souls the missionaries to some extent made use of assistants from among the inhabitants who were called chapel-servants. They had the duty of admonishing individuals and reproving them for blameworthy conduct. They had also to visit the sick. Hallbeck considered these untrained assistants of no great value.⁵⁴⁾ In spite of Hallbeck's opinion untrained assistants continued to be employed. In 1680 women Bible readers were appointed with the special duty of taking the word of God to the sick and aged. They were further expected to visit people who had left off attending the services. The missionaries, however, had no

48) e.g. Nchr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842, 2. 1854: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1852; "accs. 1). *cos. Journal G., 1795.

49) Nchr. 6.-1858: Jan. - Okt., 1857.

50) EXs. P. Accs. Journal G., May - Jun., 1798.

51) e.g. Has. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1799, Journal Sklf. 1801; Nchr. 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

52) Nchr. 4. 1860: Ber. G., Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858.

53) *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

54) *Firs.* 2. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 10th Jan., 1834; Appendix A, 11, 12.

greet faith in the success of this measure.⁵⁵⁾ Another instance of untrained assistance was of more promise. Between 1843 and 1894, Stephan Prins, a chapel-servant, journeyed up and down along the new railway line between Worcester and Kimberly, to care for the souls of the Genadendalers who had found work there. Ark Absalom volunteered to continue the work after his death.⁵⁶⁾

The Brethren realised that it would be necessary to teach the Hottentots and Coloureds to run their community on Christian lines, if their painstaking work with individuals was to have any lasting effect. For this reason the congregation was divided according to the station of the various individuals into groups or 'choirs' of children, young men, young women, married people, widows and widowers.

Separate meetings were held with 'Leese groups and the general speakings' were based on these divisions.⁵⁷⁾ In the meetings the missionaries instructed the various groups in the principles according to which they should lead their lives in a Christian family and in a Christian community. Parents and guardians of children for instance, were admonished when they had not fulfilled the obligations towards their dependents.⁵⁸⁾ Special care was taken in exhorting the single women as they were considered to be particularly liable to temptation.⁵⁹⁾ These choirs held group festivals, every year. The accounts mention the children's festival fairly frequently.⁶⁰⁾ Before each festival there was usually a 'speaking'.⁶¹⁾ They could be postponed or cancelled as punishment of a certain group.⁶²⁾ They served as an inducement for children to come to school as only those were permitted to take part who had attended school. The men were sometimes persuaded to perform work for the congregation after such a festival.⁶⁴⁾

⁵⁵⁾ Nchr. 8. 1381: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1880.

⁵⁶⁾ Aces. No. 546 1885 Diary G., 1884 1883, No. 549 1885 Diary G., Jul., 1884 - Jul., 1885, No. 22 1895 notes from the western Province; Nchr. 5. 1885: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1334.

⁵⁷⁾ Latrobe, p. 101; Lehr. 6. 1358: Ber. G., Jan. - Okt., 1857

⁵⁸⁾ 1. Accs. LVIII: Diary U., Jan. - Spt., 1809, LXX.: Diary G., May - June., 1813; Velar. 1. 1631: Ber. G., 1828.

⁵⁹⁾ Nchr. 1. 1825: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1823.

⁶⁰⁾ e.g. F. Acts. CXCV 1847: Diary G., 1845.

⁶¹⁾ Nchr. 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

⁶²⁾ ibid., 5. 1640: Ber. G., 1838.

⁶³⁾ ibid., 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1834.

⁶⁴⁾ ibid., 1. 1823: Ber. G., Apr. - Spt., 1821.

A further method of inducing the community to live according to Christian principles was the formation, in the middle of the Nineteenth Century, of societies such as the Missionary Association, Bible Associations,⁶⁵⁾ and Young Men's and Women's Associations.⁶⁶⁾ The Missionary Association tried to induce its members to support missionary work outside Genadendal with both prayer⁶⁷⁾ and pence. The Young Men's and Women's Associations were formed with the aim of strengthening the Christian character of their members and of imparting useful knowledge. Their subscriptions were to be used for the purchase of books and the support of the sick and needy. All associations were accepted with a certain amount of enthusiasm at first, but interest in them soon waned. For instance, the membership of the Missionary Society, dropped from 332 in 1845 to 263 in 1848 because their subscriptions were not paid.⁶⁸⁾ In 1866, when it is mentioned for the last time its membership was 37.⁶⁹⁾ The Young men's and Women's Associations had, like the Missionary Association, a low subscription of three pence per month.⁷⁰⁾ They are mentioned in the accounts only once, at their inception; hence they cannot have existed for long and had to be re-established in the twentieth Century. The associations were an attempt to enrich the Christian life of the Inhabitants of Genadendal. Two reasons may be suggested for their failure. They were thrust upon the members by the missionaries, not spontaneously developed; and the spiritual life of the community, seems not to have been developed enough to ensure their survival. There are two associations, however, which still exist, the two burial societies. They were formed in the last decade of the Nineteenth century and the first decade of the Twentieth Century.

In 1802 the congregation was asked to contribute a certain amount towards some articles needed for the proper performance of divine service. The first subscriptions were at the rate of one shilling per person per annum. At first the members of the congregation were so eager to pay that a

65) Accs. CCII 1849: D.W. Suhl, G., 31st Aug., 1848.

66) *ibid.*, 1361: Diary G., 1860.

67) Achr. 1. 1848: Ber. 0., 1845.

68) *ibid.*, 6. 1843: Ber. G., 1846, 1. 1850: Ber. 0., 1848.

69) *ibid.*, 11. 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

70) *ibid.*, 1. 1862: Ber. G., 1860.

⁷¹⁾ Information from Rev. L.R. Schmidt.

) Information from Rev. L.R. Schmidt.

shilling had to be given to the needy out of the poor box so that they too were able to pay their contribution. The missionaries observed that:

support a common interest, which surely all must feel, in providing the means of meeting together to worship God in fellowship."")

14 these means the missionaries attempted to make the congregation realise that it was a unit and had a corporate responsibility.

also ensured that members came to feel a responsibility for the church building, the centre of corporate life of the congregation. The need for a church **was** felt very soon but only after the Cape was occupied by the British in 1795 could a chapel and later a fairly large church be erected. The church, as all the buildings on the 'werft', was erected **with** the help of the Hottentots and was completed and consecrated in January, 1800.⁷⁵⁾ It is described **by a** visitor in the following words:

"...die Kirche, ein einfaches, massives Viereck von etwa 100 Fuss im Quadrat, an weichen jedoch

Dach nicht gefallen, wodurch man dem Gebäude eine anständige Höhe hat geben wollen. Innen stehen zwei Reihen Menken und ein einfacher Predigtstuhl, alles so wie die Wände, die Pfeiler, Thüren und die Emporkirche von der grössten Einfachheit, aber derb, in guten Verhältnissen und reinlich gearbeitet. Das Gebälk ist alles von Gelbholz, dessen angestrichene Farbe und Politur dem Gebäude ein sehr sauberes Ansehen giebt...)

It was designed to seat over a thousand people but on certain occasions it proved too small for the throng of worshippers.

After having been used for almost a century it had to be replaced. In 1803 the congregation commenced collecting

73) Aces. Diary G., Mch. Spt., 1802.

74) e. ibid., Journal Bk. 1795, Journal Bk. Jul.-Dec. 1798.

75) ibid., Journal Bk. Jul., 1799 - Jan., 1800.

76) H. Lichtenstein: Reisen in südlichen Afrika in den Jahren 1803, 1804, 1805 und 1806. Berlin, 1811. Vol. I. p. 248-9. (...the church, a simple, massive building 100 feet square, was spoiled externally by the slightly too **sharp** gable and the too steep roof added to the buildings to give it a more impressive height. Inside stand two rows of benches and an unassuming pulpit. All, such as the walls, the columns, doors, and the raised gallery of the greatest simplicity, but strong, in good condition and neatly built, the timber is all, yellow-wood, that gives the building a tidy appearance with its pleasing colour and polish...)

money for a new church.⁷⁷⁾ With the help of friends from overseas the sum of £3100 was raised by 1893, of which the congregation itself had collected £1225. It also net the debt of A.:338 which remained after the church had been built. Brother Hettasch was both architect and supervisor of the building operations. **He** worked with the help of two

Genadendal- carpenters, a German mason, a German *ship's* careenter, mid about 40 **labourers** from the villa .e who came every day. The church which seats 1400 people was inaugurated by the visiting Bishop Buchner on the 15th, march, 1693.⁷⁸⁾

frequent services conducted within the church, were based on those traditional in the congregations of the United Brethren. In March, 1793, the first instructions in the scriptures were inaugurated commencing one hour before sunset.⁷⁹⁾ any more were added on until in 1892, there was a service practically every evening of the week.

The order of services was as follows: On
Tuesday evening Old Testament exposition, on
Wednesday a singing meeting, on Thursday a service for
the native assistants, both male and female, ...
On Friday evening there was exposition of the
New Testament, and on Saturday another singing
meeting, at which the naive teacher ^{ear} pre-
sided and offered an edifying prayer.⁴⁾

in 1860 a morning prayer was introduced. It was very well attended even in unpleasant weather.⁸¹⁾ men and women sat in separate sections of the church during all services.⁸²⁾

The most important day for religious services though, was of course 'Sunday. In 1832 they were livened up by an organ presented by a lady in France, who had visited Genadendal.⁸³⁾ The Sunday services were described by a visitor in the early Sixties in the following way:

"I found the religious services very, edifying.
in the forenoon, after the instruction for the
candidates for baptism, the church litany was prayed
in the course of which certain passages were sung,
the organ being played by a pupil of the Training-School. **The** congregation then dispersed for a short
time, and afterwards reassembled for the sermon,

77) .Aces. No. 546 1885: Diary G., 1E83 and 1884.

78) *ibid.*, to 14. 1893: A sled better **Day** for G.

79) *exs.* P. Aces. Journal **boy.**, 1792-Mch., 1793.

80) ACCS . 110. 13. 1893 Visitation by Brother Buchner.

81) N hr. 1. 1852: Ber. G., 1860.

82) C.1. Latrobe, p. 90; D. Fairbridge, Letters from the Cape by Lade Duff Gordon. 1937. p. 104-5; J. Backhouse, A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa. 1844. p. 97.

⁸³⁾ Behr. 6. 1834: **Ber. G., 1832.**

which I had been requested to deliver. ... In the afternoon, two adults were baptized. ... One of the missionaries delivered a suitable address, after which the Litany appointed for such occasions was read and sure. At the evening

were arranged around the central service which contained the sermon:

'The Predigt' was delivered after more singing, by a missionary cabinet-maker, in Dutch., very ranting, and not very wise: the congregation was singularly decorous and attentive, but did not seem at all excited or impressed... The service lasted three-quarters of an hour, including a short prayer and two hymns.

On the Treat festivals of the Church the special litanies of the United Brethren were performed by the congregation, for instance, the famous Easter Litany sung before sunrise on the burial ground. SG In a similar solemn manner were celebrated the awakening of the little girls at Herrnhut in 1727,⁸⁸) and the Mission Festival.)

The first native assistant to officiate at a service was Ezechiel Pfeiffer who in 1851 held the evening service. The congregation was very impressed.⁸⁹)

There were two main motives for extending missionary activity to outstations beyond the confines of Genadendal. The first was that the missionaries increasingly felt that there existed a need for serving the surrounding country. The second reason was that the missionaries feared that the numerous labourers outside Genadendal would decline in spiritual matters if they lost contact with the congregation. Bishop Hallbeck was the first missionary to conceive the idea of serving the labourers on neighbouring farms whose owners allowed the Brethren to hold services there. In Lay, 1839 Hallbeck preached for the first time on the farm Matjesgat. Its owner, a Mr. Grönewald, was a sincere Christian and a great friend of the Brethren.⁹⁰) Another similar outstation

³⁴) A. Aces. CCLXI 1863: Description of G., by rev. J. Murray.

⁸⁵) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 106.

⁶) ix. 2. Aces. Journal Bklf. 18U1.

⁸⁷) P. Aces. LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811.

⁸⁸) Chr . 1. 1852: Bee. G. Jul. - Dec., 1850.

⁸⁹) P. Aces. CCXI 1851: D.W. Suhl, G., 12th Feb., 1851. One of the Overseers, John Ruyter said: "The word of our late Brother Hallbeck has now become true, that we should one day be reproved by teachers of our own nation."

⁹⁰) Chr . 5. 1841: Der. G., 1839.

was founded at Kopjes asteel, where a chapel, was completed in 1841.⁹¹⁾ The most important of this type of out-station was Twistwyk, the farm of Commandant Linde. A chapel was inaugurated there in July, 1853.⁹²⁾ The work at these places was liable to be interrupted when a farm changed hands.⁹³⁾

From 1803 when Kührhammer and his wife, at the request of Governor Janssens, proceeded to the camp for hottentot soldiers at Wynburg among whom were many from Genadendal,⁹⁴⁾ the Brethren took it upon themselves to follow members wherever they were driven by economic necessity. When Coloureds were no longer employed as soldiers members used to leave the institution during harvest time and in famine years. They dispersed over such a large area that it was difficult for the missionaries to work among them effectively. When, rail and road construction commenced in the last three decades of the nineteenth century and towns and mines began to exercise their pull on the floating labour force at Genadendal, the missionaries found it easier to follow them as they were concentrated on the railway lines and urban areas. The first step in this branch of missionary work was made in the pastoral tours of the chapel-servant, Ste-phan Prins, mentioned above.⁹⁵⁾ The missionaries chose a Coloured man because it was cheaper for him to travel and he could devote more time to his work. But they themselves were not averse to do this exacting work. Brother Hettasch for instance, undertook similar tours and travelled as far as Kimberley.⁹⁶⁾ A further step in this direction was the establishment of the church in Cape Town at Moravian mainly for inhabitants of Genadendal who had found work there.

The station known as Beet, had a special status. It was situated on Genadendal land and had a resident missionary. The founding of Bera was due to the congestion at Genadendal. In 1864, the Brethren realised that a systematic settlement

91) Nchr. 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839, 2. 1844: Ber. G., 1841.

92) *ibid.*, 4. 1851: Ber. G., Jan-Jun., 1850, 4. 1855: Ber. G., Jan. - Spt., 1853.

93) *ibid.*, 6. 1857: Ber. Gs, Jul. - Dez., 1865.

94) 11103. v. Aces. Diary Bklf. May, 1805 - Nov., 1804.

95) F. Aces. No. 346 Diary G., 1884 and 1883.

96) . 1. 1888: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1886

97) *ibid.*, note 96 above.

in the neighbouring valley, settled against their will at first, it relieve to overcrowding. a house and a chapel were erected at Berea and a missionary was posted there.⁹⁸⁾ in October, 1855 the chapel was consecrated by the first missionary Brother B. liar'.⁹⁹⁾ The visiting Brother Buchner did not think that Berea merited the full time attention of a healthy man. in consequence the resident missionary often held an additional office.¹⁰⁰⁾

On outstations the method of instructing tee members and the care of the community was identical with that in Genadendal, although on a smaller scale.¹⁰¹⁾ 'Speakings' were held at all outstations. As soon as possible naive school teachers from the .raining School were posted to them. They usually did a certain amount of religious work.¹²⁾

A number of factors hampered the application of these methods. These factors derived mainly from the mentality of the Hottentots. Idle problem of language, one of the difficulties in missionary work generally, was not important. Lost of the Hottehtots had¹⁰³⁾ learned to speak some Dutch when the missionaries arrived. j In the beginning there were only a fey people who did not know Dutch,¹⁰⁴⁾ besides some members of tee Bent tribes.¹⁰⁵⁾

ore serious as than the language problem wits the character development of some Hottentots under European contact. Soon the missionaries noticed that some of them, ...having been some time among the white people, have learnt to talk religiously but are not al- to be trusted

he missⁱonaries found it hard in such cases to determine whether the motives for conversion were genuine.¹⁰⁶⁾ Even hallbeck, who was very sympathetic towards the Hottehtots,¹⁰⁷⁾ criticises them for their lack of energy of mind, inability

98) k. Aces. CCLXVI 1865: *F.W. Kühn*, 16th Spt., 1864 and *Diary G.*, Jan. <lam., 1865.

99) . 6. 1867: *Ber. G.*, Jul. - Dee., 1865.

) P.Acs. 140. 18 1894: visitation of Br. Buchner.

)chr . 6. 1858: *Ber.* (... Jan. - Okt., 1857.

102) *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1862: *Ber. G.*, 1861.

103) . P. Aces. *Journal Bklf. Loy.*, 1792 - Mch., 1793.

104) *ibid.*, *Journal rk1.t.* 1801.

) P. Aces. /Da: *Diary G.*, Jan. - Jun., 1812.

¹⁰⁶⁾ exs. e. Aces. *Journal Bklf.* 1799.

¹⁰⁷⁾) Select committee, *Aborigine, Evidence*, hallbeck, 1836.

to persevere **awl** their lack of independence of character. But he adds:

...in all probability a great variety of unfavourable circumstances have combined to produce this evil, and that for this very reason the cure is one of considerable difficulty.")

the missionaries fully realised that they had come to a socially backward people, whose faults were a result of the conditions they lived in. the missionaries also found that harvest workers were prone to "fall into sin, one reason being that the labourers were temporarily released from the supervision at Genadendal.¹⁰⁹⁾

Certain factors, however, facilitated work among the Hottentots and partially explain the success of the Brethren. any of the Hottentots told the missionaries that they had heard about Christianity from their European Masters. The Brethren thus occasionally built on foundations laid by others.¹¹⁰⁾ In addition, no resistance was offered to Christian teaching by the traditional religion of the Hottentots. It had lost its hold on them and their tribal system had broken down. The captains, who played a certain role in early Genadendal society were probably only 'kraal' headmen.¹¹¹⁾ they were also susceptible to the highly emotional appeal of the teachings of the first three Brethren. Not only the first journals, but neutral observers like Barrow¹¹²⁾ mention the flowing of tears in the congregation.)

The system of church discipline at Genadendal played an important part in the methods of the Brethren. To understand it a short account of the structure of the congregation is indicated. the affairs of the congregation were controlled by the missionaries and a Kerkraad, whose members were called chapel-servants. it was primarily concerned with administration of spiritual matters,¹¹³⁾ and the care of church property such as the poor **money**. But they had also

¹⁰⁸⁾ Papers relative to Natives. Brief Sketch of **the Origin** .progress and present State of the Missions of the United Brethren in the Colony of the Cape of Good hope. Hennepeck, 1823.

¹⁰⁹⁾ P. Aces. LXIX: Diary 4., Jan. - Apr., 1813; Lehr. 2. 1354: Tier. G., Jan. - Jun., 1852.

110) e.g. P. Aces. Diary G., Jan. - Spt., 1809.

111) G.1. Latrobe, pp. 398-403.

112) G. Schneider, G. p. 76, J. Barrow, Travels into the Interior of southern Africa. vol. 1. p. 310-11.

113) Appendix A, III, 3, 4, 9, 12.

secular duties which resembled those of the 'opsieners' (overseers) who formed part of the civic administration of the community. In practice there was therefore an overlap of functions and because of this, chapel-servants and 'opsieners' had common meetings. ¹¹⁴)

in 1827 the Kerkraad consisted of fourteen chapel-servants later increased to eighteen. ¹¹⁵) in fact the missionaries retained most of the spiritual and secular power, ¹¹⁶) and were always in a position to exert pressure on individual members of the kerkraad. The missionaries, who met every day at table, discussed matters pertaining to the congregation. ¹¹⁷) They were the final authority enforcing church discipline. ¹¹⁸) moreover, the missionaries appointed the members of the Kerkraad and had power to dismiss them for scandalous conduct which involved their expulsion from the congregation. ¹¹⁹)

The post of chapel-servant was not exclusively held by men and in the very earliest journals female chapel-servants are mentioned. ¹²⁰) The chapel-servants were always communicants and were the most fervent Christians in the judgement of the Brethren. ¹²¹) The duties of the chapel-servants can be divided into those concerning the spiritual life of the congregation and the church property and their duties as 'opzieners'. here, only the former will be discussed. The first chapel-servants were appointed to assist the missionaries in minor duties such as keeping order during services, providing for lighting up the church at evening services and similar responsibilities. ¹²²) Later their duties became more numerous. They took part in the comforting of the sick and other pastoral duties, ¹²³) as we have already seen. Latrobe's impression was that the chapel-servants of both sexes served in the true Christian manner. ¹²⁴)

¹¹⁴) Appendix A, III, 2, 12, 13.

¹¹⁵) *ibid.*, LU, 2.

¹¹⁶) *ibid.*, III, *passim*.

¹¹⁷) B. Aces. No. 13. 1893: Visitation of Br. Buchner.

¹¹⁸) Appendix A, iLL, 5, 6.

¹¹⁹) *ibid.*, III, 15.

¹²⁰) P. Accs. LVIII: Diary G., Jan. Spt., 1809.

¹²¹) h. Lichtenstein, 1. p. 251-2.

¹²²) r. Aces. Diary tr., 1799.

¹²³) r. Aces, Diary G., Riau. - Spt., 1809; Appendix A, III, 12.

¹²⁴) C.I. Latrobe, p. 101.

At the beginning of the year the missionaries had conferences with the kerkraad to remind them of their duties.

These conferences were originally only held to inform the kerkraad of important matters, changes or improvements.¹²⁵)

The annual meetings were started by the chapel-servant themselves in 1809.

"Our chapel-servants assembled of their own accord in the avenue leading to the burying ground, to speak with each other about the occurrences of the past year, as they related to their spiritual course. The men sat down on one, and the women on the other side. They began, concluded their conversation with a hymn.")

By 1813 they had developed into regular meetings with the missionaries.¹²⁷)

After the introduction of the office of 'opziener' the meetings became more frequent.

"Um diese Zeit bezeugten uns die Aufseher und Saaldiener den Wunsch, dass ihnen Gelegenheit möchte gegeben werden, zuweilen zusammen zu kommen, um über die verschiedenen Vorkommlichkeiten in der Gemeinde, die auf ihr Amt und ihren Auftrag Bezug haben, mit einander sprechen zu können."

In 1826 it was therefore decided to have a meeting every month with both the 'opziener' and the kerkraad.¹²⁸)

It is laid down in the Rules and Regulations that the church discipline was to be administered by the missionaries alone.¹²⁹) It is difficult to distinguish between pure church discipline and the discipline of the settlement, although the government attempted to draw a distinction in 1850.¹³⁰) The actual punishment consisted of a reprimand either given privately or before the assembled missionaries, exclusion from church privileges before the missionaries or before the assembled congregation and finally expulsion from the station.¹³¹) These measures were mainly employed in order to combat vice and immorality. Occasionally, however, they were employed to inculcate the true principles of Christian doctrine. Once a communicant was excluded from the

¹²⁵) exs. P. Aces. Journal Bk1f. 1799.

¹²⁶) t. Aces. ea.: Diary G., Spt. 1809.

¹²⁷) ¹²⁸) ¹²⁹) ¹³⁰) ¹³¹)

) Fehr, 2. 1528: Ber. G., 2^{te} an. März, 1626. (During this time the overseers and the chapel-servants expressed the wish that an opportunity be given them to meet occasionally, to discuss the events in the community related to their mission and their office.)

¹²⁹) Appendix A. III, 5, 8.

¹³⁰) ¹³¹) ¹³²)

) ¹³³) ¹³⁴)

Lord's Supper because of her inveterate hatred of another person. She concurred with the judgement of the missionaries as she felt that, though she had forgiven her enemy she as yet did not love her. 132) A person who had been excluded or even expelled from Genadendal could always be rehabilitated if he proved by his conduct that he was worthy of consideration, showed sincere repentance and confessed his faults.¹³³) Members under discipline, unless expelled, were still cared for by the missionaries who had meetings with them.¹⁵⁴) Exclusion was surprisingly effective. Backhouse and Hallbeck record that the individuals concerned were deeply affected.¹³⁵) On the whole, however, persuasion was the most important means of maintaining order in the congregation. Lichtenstein is correct in saying:

"Es ist wirklich zum Erstaunen, dass dies alles ohne Zwangsmittel durch bloße Ermahnung bewerkstelligt werden können. Sie kennen durchaus keine andere Strafe, als Ausschliessung von den Gottesdienst und Verbannung aus der Gemeinde, und auch dazu schreiten sie selten und nur, wenn ein ganz verderbtes Subjekt wiederholte Ermahnungen kein Gehör geben will. 136)

Besides these individual punishments there were cases where the missionaries inflicted joint punishment on Groups. They might postpone the holding of Communion,¹³⁷) or cancel the celebration of the festivals of the single Brethren and Sisters.¹³⁸) In 1798 the missionaries even threatened to leave the Hottentots altogether if they did not improve their behaviour.¹³⁹)

As a result the three original missionaries achieved what was surprising. They themselves were elated at the eager-

132) P. Aces. TAXI: Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810.

133) Appendix A. III, 7, II, 31; Exs. P. Aces. Journal Bklf. 1795.

154) J. K. ACCS. f1Y: Diary G., Jan. - Feb., 1808.

155) J. Backhouse, p. 98; Miss. Reg. Jan., 1822: Hallbeck 23rd Jan., 1821.

135) n. Lichtenstein, Vol. I. p. 251. (It is really surprising, that all this was achieved without coercion, by simple admonition. They positively know no other form of punishment except exclusion from the services and expulsion from the congregations, but these are seldom used, only when a completely depraved person takes no notice of repeated warnings.)

137) = B. 4. Aces. Journal Bklf. 1801.

138) h chr., 1. 1849: Ber. G., 1843.

1A) Ss. 1). ACCS. Journal Bklf. May - Jun., 1798.

cross with which Hottentots flocked to Baviaanskloof.¹⁴⁰)
 A Cape Town friend wrote on the 25th January, 1795, that he
 counted 15e hearers at every meeting he attended.¹⁴¹) In
 1801 the missionaries reported that the people were eager
 to be baptized or admitted to lioly Communion, and that those
 not promoted in church privilege used to shed tears.^{142\}

Thus after only six years of work ther=e were an estimated
 705 people on the station.¹⁴³)

she number in the congregation increaces steadily till
 about 1860, when *there* were just 200 below the 3,0u0 mark.
 An exception to this steady increase came between 1822 and
 1826 when Genadendal underwent severe hardships due to bad
 harvests and a general economic depression in the Cape. The
 number of communicants showed a similar steady increase,
 again with the exception of the years 1622-26. In 1861 it
 reached its peak with over a thousand communicants.

414e rate of increase it should be noted **was** not uniform.
 it accelerated after 1638 when the emancipated slaves joined
 the settlement. The group most affected by the emancipation
 of the slaves was the baptism class, welch in 1835 comprised
 52 candidates, **whereas in** 1539 it had increased to three
 Limes that number.

of ter 1860, however, there was a steady decrease. she
 congregation was reduced to 1,875 souls thirteen years later.
 After 1673 there was again a rise until in 1668 tee figure
 too thousand **was** topped. The class of candidates for bap-
 tism correspondingly dropped to 39 **in** 1873, but rose to 138
 in 1888, in spite of the fact that Genadendal was then no
 longer an important missionary centre.¹⁴⁴)

attendance at the services in proportion to the num-
 ber of the congregation was greater in the early part of the
 century than later. **In an** evening service, attended by
 Latrobe, 400 attended.¹⁴⁵) hallbeck estimated that three
 quarters of those at home and not hindered b_y sickness or

¹⁴⁰⁾ x. 9. P. Aces. Journal Bklf. Iov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

¹⁴¹⁾ *ibid.*, Short report on the condition of — Dec., 1794 - Jan., 1795.

¹⁴²⁾ *ibid.*, Journal 1801.

¹⁴³⁾ *ibid.*, Kohrhammer, 1st Jul., 1798; Appendix B.

¹⁴⁴⁾ appendix 33; P. Accs. CCXXIVIlil 1870: Diary G., 1869 Jul. - Dec., 11th July: "To-day or the first time after a long period we were rejoiced by the baptism of **an** adult." No. 17 1894: Census returns of Cape: 1891 - 445 heathens in the Caledon district.

²⁴⁵⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 87.

other impediments attended daily either school or at church¹⁴⁵

o attendance of adults at week day services declined after 1860 and in 1878 only 10i adults were present at the 'general speaking.' Attendance improved after 1873 again.¹⁴⁷) Attendance at Sunday services did not fluctuate as much; it was good throughout the cenutry.¹⁴⁸) .he attendance at the &mead services, however, was considerably influenced by the agricultural seasons and the nature and time of the harvest.¹⁴⁹) It vas small in the bad harvest years of 1822 and 1823.) When the harvest was later than usual mile Christmas services were poorly attended, but the New Lear services were generally sell attended. Although a capacious Church had been erected in 1800, the number of worshippers often necessitated separate services elsewhere from 1846 onwards.¹⁵⁰) ay¹⁵¹ 1880 the church no longer satisfied their requirements.) This development is the more striking as au increasing number of inha^bitants¹⁵² were finding 'lark outside Genadendal for lengthy periods.)

the women were far more susceptible to the teachings of the missionaries than the men. One reason for this was, as the missionaries realised themselves, that the men left the set ,lament in order to work.¹⁵³) moreover, in 1807 the missionaries report:

"As for the women, there is a more general desire prevailing to grow in the knowledge and grace of our Saviour."

In 1880 the proportion of women to men in the class of the communicants was three to one, although the number of *men* was equal to the number of women.¹⁵⁵)

of the visitors to Genadendal were impressed by the attentiveness of the Hottentots and their singing at the

146)) Select committee, Aborigineeee, Hallbeck, 1836.

147)hr . 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 16378; *ibid.*, 1. 1380: Ber. J., Jul. - Dee., 1678.

¹⁴⁸) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 104-5; P. Ater,, 13. 1393: Visitation by Br. Buchner 1092-3; *ibid.*, CCXXIII 1854: J.0. Breutel to the Mission-Board (no date.)

149)) Ncbr. 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr - Dee., 1822; *ibid.*, 5. 1824: Bar. Go, Jan. - &are., 1823.

150) *ibid.*, 6. 1348: 13er. Li., 1846.

151.) F. ACCS. No. 328. 1880: A.G. Lettasch 30th Jun., 1880.

152) Lehr. 9. 1874: ire r. G., Jan. - Jan., 1874.

153) *ibid.*, 7. 1831: Ber. u., Jan-Jun., 188J.

¹⁵⁴) P Accs. LIII: Diary G., Spt. - Dec., law,

155)hr . 7. 1881: Ater. 6., Jan. - Jun., 1830.

services. Lady Anne Barnard describes their interest and their singing in the following words:

"The service began after the Presbyterian form with a psalm. Then indeed the note that raised itself to heaven was an affecting one; about one hundred and fifty Hottentots joined in the twenty-third psalm in a tone so sweet, so loud, but so just and true that it was impossible to hear it without, being surprised.

...Not a Hottentots did I see In this congregation that had a bad passion in the countenance; watched them closely - all was sweetness and attention; I was even surprised to observe so few vacant eyes, and so little curiosity directed to ourselves;...")

In the middle of the nineteenth Century the tone of the services was not quite so ardent. Lady Duff Gordon, writing in 1862, states that

"...the congregation were singularly decorous and attentive, but did not seem at all excited or impressed...

She too was impressed by the singing, and states that the six-hundred people present at the more¹⁵⁶ service

...made music more beautiful than any chorus-singing I ever heard. ¹⁵⁸)

And Brother Buchner adds:-

"On both Sundays attendance at the services was excellent, and the singing splendid, for the people are thoroughly musical and have beautiful voices. A native always presides at the cabinet¹⁵⁹ organ and plays without notes..."))

fervour of Christian belief manifested itself occasionally in what was called 'a religious regeneration', usually of short duration. ¹⁶⁰) Sometimes there were spiritual stirrings in one congregation, from which would emanate prayer unions, ¹⁶¹) and spontaneous singing. ¹⁶²)

the tenor of confession made by converts to the Brethren, shows that many sincerely believed that they had experienced the living Christ. ¹⁶³) Many did not show any fear

¹⁵⁶) 13. J. Anderson, Ed., South Africa a Century Ago (1797-1831). Letters and ten from the Cape of Good Hope & Extracts from a Journal by the Lady Anne Barnard. 1924. p. 180-81.

¹⁵⁷) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 106.

¹⁵⁸) ibid., p. 104.

¹⁵⁹) 2. Aces. No. 13. 1893: visitation by Mr. Buchner.

¹⁶⁰) e.g. ibid., LXIV: Diary G., Jul., 1811 Dec., 1811; ibid., No. 349. 1835: Zee Awakening of the Children at G.,

¹⁶¹) ibid., CCLII 1861: F.W. Kühn G., 19th Mch., 1861.

¹⁶²) ibid., let: Diary G., Jan. - Feb., 1810.

¹⁶³) Nchr. 2. 1839: Ber. G., 1836.

on their death beds.¹⁵⁴) The Brethren admit, however, that a number of their wards were converted genuinely only in the face of death.¹⁶⁵) Hallbeck, writing in 1821 states:

"...that most of the Baptized and Communicants, when tried by affliction, are pattern of Lord.")

Brother Buchner towards the end of the Nineteenth Century reports:

"...what struck me very forcibly, was that when we made visits in the village, all 6140 people and especially the women, at once began spiritual conversation. the people are deeply interested in spiritual things; they have a good degree of religious knowledge, and feel deeply on such matters. They manifest an uncommonly childlike confidence in the religious sphere, and a quick perception of the grace of our Saviour.")

the Brethren were sober minded enough to realize shortcomings in their charges. They complained of occasional hypocrisy. Such complaints increased after 1850.¹⁶⁸) Visiting clergyman refer to the formality of the congregation at Genadendal.¹⁶⁹) Buchner, in the context of the state-just quoted, points out that spiritual interest was not infrequently superficial.¹⁷⁰)

If these were the results of missionary labour it behooves to examine more closely the character of the men and women by whom they were achieved, in general the missionaries of the Unified Brethren were German however, except one such as the eldest of the first three missionaries, Hendrik Marsveld, a Hollander¹⁷²) and the beloved Bishop Hallbeck, who was a Swede by birth.)

emphasis was laid on the practical training of these men. thus Künnel, manufactured the famous Genadendal knives,¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁴

) Near. 3. 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai 1821 1d21.

¹⁶⁵

y P. Accs. Exs P Accs. Journal Bklf. May 1803 - Nov., 1804

¹⁵⁶

) Miss. Reg. Jan., 1822: Hallbeck, 23rd Jan., 1821.

¹⁶³

P. Aces. No, 13. 1893: Visitation of Br. Buchner.

)

e.g. Nchr. 2. 1853: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1851; *ibid.*, 1. 1880: 3er. G., Jul.- Ti., 189,6.

¹⁶⁹ CCLXI

P. Accs. CCLXI 1863: Description of G. by Rev. J. Murray.

¹⁷⁰

) *ibid.*, 14o. 13. 1893: Visitation by r. Buchner.

¹⁷¹

y A. Aces. and Nchr. *passim*.

¹⁷²) Schneider, G., p. 40.

¹⁷³)

. Schneider, Hans Peter Hallbeck. 1925. *Passim*.

¹⁷⁴

y early Anne Barnard, p. 185-6.

beinbrecht supervised the erection of the bridge over the
 Sonderend,¹⁷⁵) and was an expert on rills and
 steamengines. ea 1862 there was one 'studierter
 at Genadendal.¹⁷⁷) The theologians too, were simple,
 diligent men. Hallbeck was described as:

...a plain, simple-hearted Christian, who
 visited the sick, and took his turn in the
 school instructions of ten Hottentot youths..."

According to Schneider, Schwinn's wife was unable to sign 179
 her name on her passport, the only case of illiteracy known.
 From 1848 to 1869 a medical missionary Brother Roser, was
 stationed at Genadendal. He was a fully qualified doctor.
 After Roser had left a missionary who had taken a short
 course in medicine was responsible for the health of the
 community. it was the policy of the Mission Board to have 180
 a man capable of caring for the health of the community.)
 Missionary family life was very much the same

for unmarried missionaries 181
 x they should marry.)
 his practice was kept up until as late as 1802.

"A friend the storekeeper married without Navin
 ever beheld his wife before they met at the al-
 tar, and came on board ship at once with her. he
 said it was as good a way of marrying as any 182
 other, and that they were happy together." >

The Children of such unions, were educated for the first
 few years in one infant school at Genadendal. After that
 they were sent to Europe where many were trained as mission-
 aries 183)

missionaries met at meal time and talked over the
 affairs of the day. the description of these common tales,
 as given by Latrobe in the beginning of the century 4)
 resembles the accounts from the middle until the end of it.

J. Murray says in 1863:

¹⁷⁵

175) Nchr. 1. 1825: Ber. 3., Apr. - Dec., 1823.

) ibid., 9. 1865: Ber. G Jan - Jun., 1864.

¹⁷⁷) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 136.

¹⁷⁸a) J. Backhouse, p. 58.

¹⁷⁹) H.G. Schneider, G. p. 150-1.

10) Lae. Schmidt, Broederkerk, p. 17; e. Aces.

1847: Kölbing, G., 7th 1.4, y, 1347; ibid., CCXXXI 1856: Roser,
 G. 13th Jet., 1355.

¹⁸¹) exs. z. Aces. reports May 1800.

¹⁸²) Lady Duff (Gordon, p. 106.

¹⁸³) P. Aces. CCXLIV 1859: C.R. Kölbing, 19th May, 1859.

14) Latrobe, D. 92-93.

"About eight of thee reside here with their families, and have in several respects a combined house-keeping. ...they assemble L. ticle a day at a common table in a large test plain dining-roots, on the walls of which hang portraits of Zinzendorf, Schmidt, and other members of the Brethren's Church...)

• And Jacob gives the following description in 1896:

"There are at present sever missionaries now residing at this station, all married... Each

life: but for the two most important semis of the day - dinner at 12 and supper at 6:50 - all meet in the large dining-hall, here they also resemble at 2 o'clock for coffee, when they have a short respite in their busy life and belief opportunity for social intercourse...)

The work of the missionaries was divided in the following manner:
 Each Brother has his

allotted share in the work of preaching the gospel, the care of souls, and school-teaching. Besides this, each takes his part in the secular labour by which the expen-ses of the mission are met. There is a corn-mill which still bring in a little also a smithy, a carpenter shop a drugstore, L printing-officeThirty

years later, conditions had not changed:

"In addition to the direct spiritual portion of the work and the charge of his own district, each of tee brethren is reponsible foe some special department which meets the needs of the col-on - the general store, the mill, the printing-office, the gardens, &c., and the sisters, in addition to the ties of household and family, have each their special ministry Jr. the community.")

All tee missionaries were very much attached to *their* home congregations in Europe. Great events in their lives were Brethren passing through and the European post.¹⁸⁹⁾

The attitude of these missionaries towards the Hottentots and the Coloureds was not over-idealistic. they were rear to admit that the Hottentots had faults but the believed that they were not inherent faults. When they were asked to give their opinion on measurer restricting the freedom of the Hottentots, trey opposed them frankly. But with wise restraints they did not give violent expression to their

¹⁸⁵⁾ P. Accs. CCLXI 1663: Description of Genadendal by he,,
 • Murray.

¹⁸⁶⁾ *ibid.*, No. 27. 1696. A Moravian Settlement - by E. Jacob.

¹⁸⁷⁾ *ibid.*, as for note 185)

¹⁸⁸⁾ *ibid.*, (as for note 166)

¹⁶⁹⁾ ExHallbeckes. Journal .6k1±. 1795; Miss. Reg. April 1821: G., to Latrobe, Sept., 1C20.

view. Hallbeck, for instance, objected to the vagrancy law of 1834 when the civil Commissioner asked him for his opinion. He argued that it not only harmed the Hottentots, but by restricting their movement it caused the farmers inconvenience. Hallbeck believed that the law was unnecessary, especially if the policing of towns was improved and the control of wine shops made more strict.¹⁹⁰) Hallbeck was convinced that the Hottentots were capable of improvement. When they had completed the bridge over the Sonderend, he was overjoyed

"The people have on this occasion, shown a willingness and perseverance, unprecedented in the history of the Hottentots at Nation. The building of a Bridge particularly as a private undertaking, and an undertaking of the Hottentots, is such all uncommon in this Colony, that it is talked of with astonishment from Cape Town to Grahamstadt; and will, I trust, silence those, who accuse the Hottentots of incorrigible sloth and stupidity."¹⁹¹)

Hallbeck was also of the opinion that the school-children of Genadendal had the same ability as those in an English

"I think they are just like children in every part of the world, as far as can be judged. There are some of very good capacity some bad."¹⁹²)

Hallbeck, a contemporary of Dr. Wile, was not alone in his championship of the Coloureds. The missionaries at the end of the century were as sympathetic towards the Coloureds. In 1892 the characteristics of the position of the farmers who despise the Coloureds and predict tension between the lower and upper classes within the Cape Colony as they were then developing in Europe.¹⁹³

The close relations between the missionaries and their spiritual charges led to a certain amount of social intercourse. Coloureds served as servants in the European families. Moreover when the missionaries fell ill the Hottentots skilled in the art of healing were called in. Hottentot midwives would take care of the European childbirth.¹⁹⁴) Hallbeck and his wife were prepared to adopt

190) See also Accs Hallbeck, 9th Jul., 1804; Theal, History of the Cape Colony, 1905, Vol. 1, p. 332.

191) is: .Reg. . Jan., Hallbeck, 11th April, 1820.

192) Select Committee, Aborigine Evidence, Hallbeck, 1836.

193) 1901, 4. 1394; Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1892.

194) 1901, 4. 1394; Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1892. itc. Letter from Hallbeck, 28th Jul. 1824; Nchr. Mârs G 1881.

a Coloured child whose stepmother was neglecting her and who had been handed over to the care of the congregation.¹⁹⁵⁾ The main reason why there were no intermarriage between European missionaries and Coloured (native) church members, probably lay in the fact that the Mission Board sent very few unmarried men and supplied single missionaries with wives.

This sympathetic attitude of the Brethren earned the gratitude of the Hottentots. Their reverence for the missionaries, was not impaired by the fact that these missionaries obeyed the government strictly and did not actively oppose restrictive legislation directed against their charges.¹⁹⁶⁾ When Father Harsveld fell sick in 1820 they

in 1882 everyone in Genadendal attended his funeral.¹⁹⁷⁾

were the men and women who infused into the settlement at Genadendal a Christian attitude to life. Hallbeck was so erect in maintaining that; such an institution could not exist without "a spirit of Brotherly Love or Charity."¹⁹⁸⁾

¹⁹⁵⁾ Nchr. 1. 1343: Ber G., 1840.

) Vol XXXV, p. 332.

¹⁹⁷⁾ Use. Rcg April 1621: Hallbeck to Latrobe, Jul. - Lu6. et. Spt. 1820 to 11 Jul. 1. 1324. 2, el:'. G., Apr. - Dez. 1822.

¹⁹⁸⁾ CO 102 Answers to Queries Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

The Developement of the Administration of the
 Genadendal Community

missionaries were not only in charge of spiritual matters. Until 1816 they were the only secular authorities. to understand what the missionaries, had to cope with in this respect, one must be acquainted with the number of inhabitants in Genadendal. Ate first estimate of the total number was Oven in the year 1798. The missionaries reckoned that there were cleat 700 people 'ender instruction. ¹¹) probably this is ant. underestimate, because in 1799 in an official report on the numbers at Genadendal they state that there are 252 men, ₂ 521 women, and 661 children, i.e., 1234 souls are listed.) After 1803 a decrease set in, because a hundred men were recruited for the Cape Regiment 3.) In 18u7 only 747 persons lived at Genadendal. From 1807 onwards, these was a steady increase to the highest total number which as reached in 1860. There were two fluctuations in this population trend. The bad harvests between 1822 and 1826 retarded the increase. The influx of the slaves after 1836 accelerated it. it December 1838 ₄ 202 persons ,sere permitted to live at Genadendal,) and in. 1839 a further 430 receive; permission. ⁵)

.hi le in 1860 the number of inhabitants Lae reached 3, 521, it was reduced to 2,496 in 1870. arum this year onward, however, there was a gradual increase again until in the eighties the number remained static just slightly below three thousand. The figures given in the accounts are not quite accurate, for two reasons: firstly, members of the congregation who tad left the station mere only struck from tee books after a number of years, ₆) and secondly, the missionaries probably often included the men Rho were working outside Genadendal. A census taken in April, 1825 daring the ploughing season, for instance, shows only 922 people, whereas the total number at the end of 1824 had been 1,242. ⁷) In 1875 only 2,344 inhabitants were actually counted to be

1) Appendix B for this discussion.

2) P. Aces. Journal Bklf. Jul., 1799 – Jan., 1800.

3) theal, Records, vi. p. 347.

4) Nchr . 5. 1840: Bee. a., 1838.

5) ibid., 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839.

6) ibid., 2. 1844: Ber. 4., 1841.

7) ibid., 1. 1828: Ber. G., 1325.

at Genadendal, but at the end of the year the number was given as 2,726.)

It is more difficult to gain an insight into the racial composition of the population. The basic stock was probably Hottentot, but with accretions from other races. Lichtenstein maintained that the baptised were all 'bastards' ⁹) An early settler at Genadendal whose recollections were included in the accounts for 1851, claimed that her father was a European.¹⁰) then Lady Duff Gordon visited the settlement in the 1860ies, she met the last 'pure' Hottentot who was estimated to be 107 years old. ¹¹)

, any persons who entered the station, and were referred to as 'Hottentots' by the missionaries, were actually half-castes. There were a considerable number of Hottentot women who had illegitimate children by European fathers. Already in 1797 the missionaries complained about the immorality between the Genadendal girls and the dragoons who were posted at Zoetemelkswaai to protect the mission station. ¹²) In 1866 and 1870 the missionaries reported that irresponsible Europeans created disturbances in Genadendal by bringing wine into the village and having dances with inhabitants. ¹³) Two Europeans actually resided in the village and were members of the congregation, ¹⁴) while a third lived with a Coloured girl in irregular marriage and caused the missionaries serious concern.¹⁵)

From 1809 onwards there was also a Bantu element in the population. These 'Caffres' had been ordered out of the Colony by the government. Those who were permitted to stay had to reside at a mission station. ¹⁶) In 1810 one of the first Caffre women, the daughter of a 'captain' was baptized. ¹⁷

^b) Nchr., 1875, 3 Heft: Ber. C., Jan. - Jun., 1875.

⁹) H. Richtenstein, Vol. p. 253.

¹⁰) acts. 1851: recollections of old Hottentot Sister Beetje Robyntje.

¹¹) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 103-4.

¹²) Exs. P. Acts. Journal Bk1f. 1797.

¹³) Nchr. 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866; *ibid.*, 10. 1871: Her. G., 1370.

¹⁴) *ibid.*, 1. 1850: Ber. G., 1848; *ibid.*, 1. 1855: Ber. G., Spt. Dez., 1853.

¹⁵) *ibid.*, 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

¹⁶) P. Aces. LVIII Diary G., Jan. - Spt., 1809.

¹⁷) *ibid.*, IX Diary G., 1810.

Always. A few years later Latrobe visited the "Caffre-Kraal" beyond the **River** = Ica was inhabited largely by converted Bantu. One of the baptized women tried to persuade him to establish a mission in 'Caffre-Land' .¹⁸⁾

second largest racial group was formed by the descendants of the slaves. They were mostly of Bantu and Negroid descent.) In 1848 the ratio of Hottentots to emancipated slave; was estimated to be two to one.¹⁹⁾

A graphic description of the external appearance of the

Coloured at Genadendal is given by Lady Duff Gordon in 1862:

"the Hottentots, as they are called - that is, those of mixed Dutch and Hottentot origin (correctly, 'bastaards') - have a sort of blackguard elegance in their gait and figure which is peculiar to them; a mixture of Negro or Mozambique blood alters it altogether. the girls have the elegance without the blackguard look; a slender, most are tall; elegant all have good hands and feet; some few are handsome in the face and many very interesting-looking. The complexion is a pale olive-yellow, and the hair more or less woolly, face flat and cheekbones high, eyes small and bright. These are far the most intelligent - equal, indeed, to whites. A mixture of black blood often gives real beauty, but takes off from the 'air', and generally from the talent; but then the blacks are so pleasant, and the Hottentots are taciturn and reserved. The old women of this breed are the earliest hags ever saw; they are clean and well dressed, and tie up their old faces in white handkerchiefs like corpses, ... they are)

It was the general practice in all the settlements of the United Brethren to have a set of rules and regulations determining both the spiritual and temporal conduct of the community.²²⁾ The Genadendal code of rules is first mentioned in the accounts in 1803. Discharged Hottentot soldiers had to agree to it before they were permitted to reside in the village.²³⁾ In 1809 communicants were debarred from partaking of holy Communion when they transgressed the regulations relating to the purchase of alcohol by village-

18 C.I. Latrobe, pp. 94-97.

¹⁹⁾ Neer. 1. 1849: Überblick über das Missionenwerk der Brüdergemeine. 1836-48.

²⁰⁾ 5990 ecclesiastical return for leave ended 31st Dec., 1848.

²¹⁾ Lady Duff Gordon, p. 105-6.

²²⁾ C.I. Latrobe, pp. 390.

²³⁾ 1. Aces. Diary Bk. 1. bay, 1803 - Nov., 1804.

ere.²⁴) When Latrobe visited Genadendal he was requested to revise them in the light of comments received from the Missionaries and the rules in force in European settlements of the Unitas Fratrum.²⁵)

these 'codified' rules of 1816 formed the basis of the revised Rules and Regulations of 1827 which were the work of Hallbeck and the missionaries, with, the help of the 'opzieners' and chapel-servants. After they had been read out to and approved of by the assembled men of the settlement a Dutch and an English copy were sent to Governor Bourke, who strongly approved of them.²⁵)

When in 1858 the Superintendent received the title which granted the Genadendal lands to him in trust for the Hottentots,²⁷) he also received the new regulations revised by the government. These regulations of 1858 embodied three chapters of the revised Rules and Regulations of 1827. A fourth chapter was added which provided firstly, that the civil administration of Genadendal should be strictly separated from the administration of the congregation, and secondly that the number of inhabitants should be limited to three thousand.²⁸)

It was expressly stipulated in these Rules and Regulations of the Genadendal Institute that they did not supplant the laws of the Cape Colony. In the case of a crime against the laws of the Colony the culprit was to be handed over to the colonial authorities.

The first section - appearing in the 1827 document under the heading "Of Christian Doctrine, Religion and general Moral and Social Duties" - deals with relations of dogma and Genadendal relations to other denominations. It is stated that the congregation at Genadendal feels itself a part of the church of the United Brethren, and that therefore, the Bible is the basis of teaching and conduct. Sunday should be kept as a day of rest and worship. Only teachers approved of by the directory of the United Brethren could be accepted. As regards moral conduct the emphasis is laid

²⁴) P. Aces. LVIII Diary G., Jan. - Sept., 1809..

²⁵) C.1. Latrobe, p. 390.

²⁶) Nchr. 5. 1829: Ber. G., 182V4 CO 677 Colonial Office, 16th Mch., 1827 to Hallbeck.

²⁷) P. Aces. vol 1858: Kölbinger v., 15th May, 1858, Roser G., 17th Apr. 1858.

²⁸) Appendix A for this discussion; c0 till Surveyor General to Civil Commissioner Mackay 28th Jul., 1851.

on strict honesty and on diligence. The members are reminded, however that the goods of this earth are transitory. In general a high standard of moral conduct was expected.

marriage is an institution ordained by God. A violation of the rules of Christian marriage must be punished by exclusion from congregation and institution. It is laid down how Christians and heathen residents can be legally married. Lastly, the duty of parents to provide their children with a Christian education is enunciated.

The second section - headed in the original of 1827 "Of outward Order and regularity of the institution" - lays down that every inhabitant of Genadendal shall have a fixed place of abode, especially young unmarried persons. It stipulates that houses should be well built and kept in good repair. It gives a missionary the right of inspection and builders are bound to obey his instructions when erecting new houses or altering old ones. 'Opzieners' are entrusted with the duty of allotting garden and arable land and are made responsible for seeing that such land is used properly. When it is not effectively cultivated it can be confiscated and given to more deserving persons. Disputes over gardens and arable land have to be brought before the 'inspector of gardens.' The conditions under which land in Genadendal was held by inhabitants is defined. The main condition being that such land is only held under the rules of the Institution and therefore, cannot be sold or bequeathed to persons outside the settlement. The owner of a house and a garden was, however, entitled to sell or bequeath his property to another resident on condition that he gave due notice to the superintendent of the institution. Also, the owner could forfeit his rights by prolonged absence, unless he delegated a tenable person to take care of his plot. Then follow regulations concerning stock and rules for the impounding of straying cattle. Such disputes as arise out of damage done by stock and over ownership of land should be brought in the first instance to the 'Opzieners' or missionaries, although nothing is in the way of taking complaints to a magistrate. So preserve public morality it was laid down that residents could not have strangers overnight unless permission had first been obtained from the missionaries or from certain 'opzieners'. Further, residents were expected to observe a curfew after the evening service. 'Young people were to be under supervision as much as possible; they were not allowed to participate in recreation likely to lead them into sin. Wine could be brought into the village in small

quantities and for" immediate use only. It was prohibited to sell drink in the settlement. The residents were expected to hold themselves available for work necessary for the commonweal, such as repairing roads and the church, and to see that they kept the roads in front of their plots in an orderly state and that the drinking water was not polluted. The community took care of the sick and infirm and, therefore, the inhabitants were enjoined not to forget the poor box. It was also defined how a person might enter the institution. A thorough inquiry into his previous life was made. If this was satisfactory and he was prepared to abide by the regulations, he was permitted to reside in the settlement on probation. Persons born in the village, had to promise to obey the rules when they were accepted into the congregation. Finally it was laid down, that any person who habitually violated these rules lost the right to reside in the settlement.

The aim of this section then, was to preserve a high standard of public morality and to outline ways of settling disputes peacefully.

The third section - which deals with "Superintendence of the Institution," - is of a different nature. It establishes the authoritative body which was charged with enforcing the rules, the 'Opziener konferensie.' The basis on which every individual was expected to comply with these rules was that they were agreed to by the residents and were not laws imposed by the Missionaries. It is difficult to say in how far this basic assumption was acted upon. In practice the residents in assembly agreed to the rules and regulations which had been drawn up by the missionaries. What the latter insisted on was that the inhabitants knew the rules. 'New people' had to understand and agree to abide by the rules before they were admitted. Persons born in Genadendal were told what the rules of the community were when they were received into the congregation. Besides, the Rules and Regulations were read to the assembled congregation at regular

intervals.²⁹ The final chapter added in 11.57 by the government aimed at separating the civil administration from that of the congregation and giving the government a greater say in the application of the Rules and regulations. The reasons for this step were two. It was felt that a further increase in the

²⁹ (30 611 Rules and Regulations of the Institution at Genadendal, Revised 1827. ..mark in the margin by Teutsch.

population of Genadendal would be undesirable and that therefore, the government should be able to control it. Secondly, there had been complaints about the civil administration of Genadendal by some residents.³⁰⁾ The government wished to safeguard the civic right of the inhabitants. The expulsion of the natives was to be decided, wide contingent on the consent of the magistrate. The right to vote in civic matters was defined in terms of property. The government reserved to itself the right to amend the Rules and regulations on the application of the missionaries and four-fifths of the eligible voters. Finally, the right of every resident to take stock found on his land to the pound was reaffirmed.

When the legality of the 1858 Rules and regulations were challenged soon afterwards they were held to be invalid in the supreme court on the grounds that they were not parliamentary laws.³¹⁾ To place the administration of Genadendal on a legal basis it was found necessary to have a special mission station act. This act was passed in 1909 and was accepted in Genadendal only in 1926.³²⁾ One of the main reasons for, or perhaps the most important reason for the invalidity of the rules and regulations was the fact that the land on which the institution stood had been granted in trust. It was not private property as for instance the Moravian station at Elim.³³⁾

Residents of Genadendal participated in the administration of the village from the beginning. There are references to the employment of Hottentot 'captains' in the accounts before 1816.³⁴⁾ These captains were invested with some authority direct from government. The first of them possessed a staff of authority.³⁵⁾ In the early days the captains were responsible for maintaining law and order at Genadendal. They assisted in the collection of taxes and in securing

³⁰⁾ e2. 511 Memorial of John Jass, Loses Fourie, Margie Janzen and Piet Abraham to Governor Sir Harry Smith, 19th Spt., 1850.

³¹⁾ e2. 9. 1865: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1865; *ibid.*, 6. 1866: Ber. G., Jul.-Dez., 1865; *ibid.*, 4. 1850: tier. G., Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858; P. Accs. no. 27, 1896: Jottings from the Western province.

³²⁾ e2. 16.e.. Schmidt, Die Plaaslike Beethuur van Baviaanskloof Genadendal, 1792-1926. (Manuscript)

³³⁾ e2. r. Accs. No. 32. 1857: The 'grant stations' and their importance for the natives, by Br. Rennig.

³⁴⁾ e2. r. Accs. Journal Bklf. Jan., 1799 *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1801.

³⁵⁾ P. Accs LVIII Diary G., Jan. - Spt., 1809.

deserters.³⁶⁾ The government was satisfied with this system of administration. Landdrost Rhyneveld, in 1802, praised the obedience of the Hottentots and pointed out that for a thousand people at Baviaanskloof no Justice of Peace was necessary, whereas ordinarily a Justice of Peace had enough to do among three hundred people.³⁷⁾ Later this rule by traditional tribal authorities was supplemented by that of the Kerkraad which acquired a number of temporal duties in addition to its church duties.³⁸⁾ But rivalry between various factions and clannish loyalties were not unknown among the leading residents at the time of Latrobe's visit and caused the missionaries a certain amount of trouble.³⁹⁾

this was one of the reasons why it was decided to institute the office of 'opziener'. The main reason, however, was the fact that Genadendal had increased in size. It was no longer possible for the missionaries alone to keep a watchful eye over the community. When, therefore, the chapel-servants proposed in 1816, that a number of respected persons should be appointed to assist the missionaries, the proposal was adopted. In May, 1816 32 overseers met for the first time, with the approval of the Landdrost at Cape Town.⁴⁰⁾ The 'opzieners' at first worked side by side with the 'captains'. Koopman, who had been the captain in Latrobe's time,⁴¹⁾ became chief overseer in the village and received a daily stipend of two shillings from the government, until his death in 1842. His duties as a chief are nowhere defined.⁴²⁾

In the beginning the overseers were appointed by the missionaries.⁴³⁾ When the Mores and Regulations were revised in 1827 a system of election was included. The qualification for a voter was twofold: the possession of a house and garden and the status of a communicant. Only communicants with 'walled houses' could be elected as overseers. Overseers were not elected regularly but only when a post fell vacant.⁴⁴⁾

36) C.I. Latrobe, pp. 154-57.

37) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk. Jan. - Feb., 1802.

38) *ibid.*, Journal Bk. 1799.

39) C.I. Latrobe, pp. 154-57, 402-3, 405-6.

40) *ibid.*, pp. 387-88, 389-90.

41) *ibid.*, pp. 402-6.

42) Nchr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

43) *ibid.* Latrobe, pp. 389-90.

44) Appendix A: eh. 111, 13 & 14: Nchr. 1. 1848: Ber. G. 1845.

Under the 1358 rules and regulations a further qualification was added viz., that only a person who owned a house and garden worth 45 could vote.⁴⁵⁾

body of overseers, consisting in 1827 of 18 members and in 1858 of 25 members, together with the chapel-servants, of whom there were 14 in 1827 and 18 in 1856, and the missionaries formed the 'Overseers Conference'.¹ It met at least once a month. It was the duty of the conference to settle disputes. The missionaries were looked upon as a kind of executive and, dealt with unimportant matters between meetings. Reports of actions taken had to be made to the conference, however, and important matters had, to be laid before it.⁴⁶⁾

The duties of the overseers were those of maintaining order in the settlement. They were not entitled to make bye-laws for the settlement. They had powers to settle minor disputes. It was their special duty to see that strangers did not enter the settlement. Persons expelled from or permitted to enter Genadendal were informed of this decision in the presence of the 'opzieners' and never without their

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A monthly conference of the overseers was instituted in 1826 at the request of the chapel-servants and overseers themselves. In 1827 it was included in the Rules and Regulations.⁴⁸⁻⁾ This body conducted the administration of Genadendal for a century.⁴⁹⁾

Only those overseers could only remain in office 'during good behaviour'. When, on account of irregularities, an overseer was publicly excluded from the congregation he was automatically dismissed from the Conference.⁵⁰⁾ He could be re-elected if he repented.⁵¹⁾ As the missionaries decided who was to be excluded they exercised some control over the composition of the conference. The missionaries apparently never used this power inequitably.

There were two forms of punishment, exclusion from the

45) Appendix A, IV, 2.

46) *ibid.*, III, 2, 9-12.

47) *ibid.*, III, 4, 11.

48) Nchr. 2. 1628: ber. g., Jan. Marz, 1826; *ibid.*, 5. 1629: leer. 4., 1027.

49) R. Schmidt, Die Plaaslike Bestuur.

50) e.g. Nchr. 5. 1640: ber. G. 1838.

51) Appendix A, III, 15; *ichr.* 4. 1890; Ber., G., Jul. - Dez., 1688.

congregation and expulsion from the place.⁵²) The Rules and regulations reserved to the missionaries the right to administer church discipline.⁵³) exclusion was the most important means of maintaining discipline and public morality. It was remarkably effective, particularly until hallbeck's death,⁵⁴) but even in 1857 Suhl comments on the respect shown for this form of correction. The names of those publicly excluded were read out to the congregation about eight times a year.⁵⁵) The reasons for exclusion could be religious,⁵⁶) but in most cases the reason was drunkenness or immorality.⁵⁷)

The missionaries' powers of expulsion were at first practically unlimited and the Veldcornets helped them to eject recalcitrants.⁵⁸) When, in 1816, the 'opzieners' were appointed, they were immediately consulted as to the readmission of a repentant expellee. Against the expectations of the missionaries they advocated his readmission.⁵⁹) The principle that the overseers conference should have advisory powers in matters of expulsion or admission was, therefore, already present in Latrobe's time.⁶⁰) If a person continually broke rules and if he seduced other residents to succumb to vice, he was expelled.⁶¹) Only 54 persons were expelled from the village during the first twenty-five years of its existence.⁶²)

Towards the middle of the Nineteenth Century, however, these two forms of punishment grew less effective and more difficult to apply. The number of persons excluded from the

52) There is no evidence that the 'opzieners' at Genadendal could award punishment and inflict 'stripes upon the back with a rod of quince,' although it may have been the case. Wheal, records, Vol. xxxv, p. 331.

53) Appendix A: Ch. III, 5.

54) J. Backhouse, p. 98.

55) P. Aces. CCXXXVII, 1857: D.W. Suhl, G., 3rd April., 185V

56) See Chapter III.

57) O.1. Latrobe, pp. 304, 398-402; Exs. P. Aces. Hallbeck, 29th Aug., 1835; P. Aces. LXI, Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810; ibid., LXV, Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1812; Nchr. 5. 1840: Ber. G., 1838.

58) C I Latrobe, p. 384.

59) ibid., pp. 398-402.

60) Appendix A, III, 11.

61) C.I. Latrobe, p. 384; Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf., May, 1803 - Nov., 1804.

62)

) Nchr. 2. 1819: Ber. G., 1818.

congregation every year increased, especially after 1850.⁶³) Some of the excluded became a centre of opposition to the missionaries.⁶⁴) it had become difficult for the missionaries to expell troublemakers after the 1856 revision of the rules and regulations, as they made an expulsion order from a magistrate compulsory, but this power of the magistrate was not upheld in the Supreme Court which virtually made ejection impossible.⁶⁵) In 1848 already, the relations of an expelled person often kept him at Genadendal, thus negating the effect of expulsion.)

There were thus minority groups within the settlement, who opposed the accepted form of administration of the community. The main reasons for opposition to the missionaries were two. The less serious but widespread form of antagonism was the refusal of residents to pay the fees levied by the Overseers Conference,⁶⁷ although these had been approved of in a public assembly.) In 1848 the residents refused to pay true fee for the herdboy.⁶⁸) In 1878 the missionaries complained that the Genadendalers were unwilling to pay their school and congregation fees.⁶⁹)

The more serious, though not, so general, form of opposition was motivated by the desire for land and for security of tenure. The first manifestation of this was in 1850 when four Coloureds from Genadendal, who had been promised land as a reward for the services during the 1835 frontier wars,⁷⁰) petitioned against an alleged encroachment by neighbouring farmers.⁷¹) The claim was pronounced unfounded by the civil Commissioner and Surveyor General, who had been sent to investigate.⁷²) A letter from Teutsch, the Superintendent, shows that this petition was presented to the Governor against the will of the missionaries.") In 1858 some few residents

53) Appendix B.

64) P. Accs. CCXV 1852: C.R. Kolbing G., 22nd kWh., 1()52.

65) Appendix A, IV, 6; Nchr. 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

66) Nchr. 1. 1850: Bei', G., 1848.

57) Nchr. 6. 1E536: Bar. G., 1834 .

Yiid. ,
1844.

2. 1847: Ber.

69) *ibid.*, 6. 1879: Ber. - Jim., 1878.

70) *ibid.*, 2. 1839: Ber. G., 1836.

71) CO 611 is of our Hottentots to Governor Sir Harry Smith, 26th Sept., 1850.

72) Accs. CCX 1851: C.L. Teutsch, 23rd & 5th Oct., 1850.

73) CO 611v.L. Teutsch to Civil Commissioner Mackay, 22nd Oct., 1850.

caused trouble by attempting to obtain the status of a municipality for Genadendal. he were allowed to call a meeting for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes of the inhabitants, but suffered an overwhelming defeat.') This, if successful, would have been tantamount to terminating the civil authority of the missionaries. In 1863 a petition was signed even by some of the overseers and chapel-servants, although it had been expressly decided by them conference that the should not sign p^etitions to the government affecting the administration of the place. The cause for complain was the refusal of the missionaries to purchase a heavily mortgaged house for the congregation. As a result some of the chapel-servants and overseers were dismissed. The missionaries now felt that the reason for the growing opposition was the fact that they exercised supreme civil authority in the settlement and this was injurious to their spiritual work.⁷⁵⁾ After 1892 another incident occurred and the motive was again the desire for more land.⁷⁶⁾

it is thus obvious that internal opposition was growing and that, although the missionaries were still capable of enforcing their authority, the legal weakness of the system should have been remedied long ago. This weakness lay in the fact that Genadendal was not the property of the mission of the Unitas Fratrum but a 'grant station' to be held in trust by the Superintendent of the mission in South Africa.⁷⁷⁾

⁷⁴⁾ Mchr. 4. 1860: Ber. Berea, Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858.

⁷⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1864: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1863.

⁷⁶⁾ P. Accs. No. 71, 1907: Report on Mission Fields, South Africa, Western Province.

⁷⁷⁾ P. Accs. No. 32, 897: The 'grant stations' Br. Hennig.

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Land Teneer and relations with the Government.

As Genadendal was a 'grant station' and had not been purchased by the mission the government could interfere more easily in its administration than in a station. Such as Slim¹ that had been purchased by the mission.) There were four other spheres of contact between the community and the government. Government supervised the administration of the place. It employed residents as soldiers and otherwise. It influenced the community by promoting and sometimes obstructing the work of the missionaries. The Coloured inhabitants played a part in the internal political development of the Colony.

The initial grant of Genadendal was made in a resolution of the Council of acting on orders from the Council of Seventeen.²) By the resolution of the 19th

December, 1792, the missionaries were permitted to proceed to Baviaanskloof, to perform missionary work, to gather a congregation and to administer the Sacraments. The Landdrost of Stellenbosch was asked to inform his Veldcornets that the missionaries should enjoy their protection. Teunissen, the commander of the Company's post at Zoetemelkswaai, was to provide them with everything *they* needed.³) The missionaries would have preferred a more secure title, but when⁴ they applied for it to the government it was refused.)

The British authorities during the first occupation were prepared to give the missionaries a greater security of tenure. When the missionaries petitioned against encroachments by the neighbouring farmers,⁵) the government was willing to investigate the situation.⁶) The disputed land was resurveyed and some of it was returned to the institution.⁷)

1) k. Aces. No. 32, 1897: The 'grant stations' Br. Bennie.

2) CO 677: Memorial of United Brethren missionaries, 11th Feb., 1856, Annex A; Translated copy of resolution of Council of Seventeen, 3rd Dec., 1791.

³) *ibid.*, Annex B translated copy: extract Resolution in "Raad van Politie", Cape Town, 19th Dec., 1792.

⁴) rapers relative to natives, 1835: Brief Sketch, 1823.

⁵) BO 34: petition against encroachment by Philip Morkel and. Barend Guildenhuysen, by Loravians, 12th Jan., 1799.

⁶) b3 34: Lands Office to Revenue office, 17th Feb., 1802; Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1801; *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Jan. - Feb., 1802.

⁷) Exs. P. Aces. Journal bklf. ch. - Spt., 1802.

Under the rule of the Batavian Republic (1803-1806) no change of policy was recorded. Under the Second British Occupation difficulty arose about the erection of a church at Groenekloof on the grounds that the 'loan places' on which stations had been established did not belong to the missionaries. Latrobe then wrote to Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, asking him to secure the land to the mission.⁸⁾ Lord Bathurst instructed Cradock in 1813 as follows:

"I am sure therefore that I am only anticipating your own wishes in conveying to **you** the Instructions of His Majesty's Government to give every facility in answer to the fulfilment of Mr. Latrobe's request, and to secure to the establishment for the use of its congregations either by grant or otherwise as you may deem most advisable, both at Groenekloof and Genadendal, such portion of and as the establishment may appear to you to require.")

At the same time Bathurst informed Latrobe that formal grants of the land occupied by the missionaries would be made to "secure them from ejectment or disturbance in future."¹⁰⁾

Before Cradock had received these instructions, Theal¹¹⁾ already acceded to a request by the Moravians for a new 'loan place' at Genadendal.¹¹⁾ as the Landdrost could find no suitable loan place, the neighbouring farmers were made to cede the necessary land to the institution. By way of compensation they received double the area of land they had ceded to the missionaries elsewhere.¹²⁾ the thus enlarged area was resurveyed¹³⁾ and the survey fee was paid by the missionaries) A diagram of the land thus set apart for the use of **the Hottentots** was sent to the missionaries.¹⁵⁾

Cradock did not grant a full title to the missionaries because he felt it would develop into a species of mortmain.

This would have eliminated the possibility of residents appealing to the government.¹⁶⁾

⁸⁾ Theal, records, ix pp. 259-262.

⁹⁾ *ibid.*, ix, pp. 273-4.

¹⁰⁾ 611 copy: Downing Street to C.I. Latrobe, 23rd Dec., 1811

¹¹⁾ records, ix, pp. 191-2, 199-200.

¹²⁾ *ibid.*, ix, pp. 412-3, 458-9; x, pp. 179-80, 193, 198-9, 200-1.

¹³⁾ *ibid.*, x, pp. 179-60.

¹⁴⁾ UO 677 Memorial of United Brethren Missionaries, 11th

Feb., 1856: Annex D: secretary of Swellendam District to Mister, 3rd Jun., 1814.

¹⁵⁾ Theal records, x, p. 246; CO 611 Copy: Landdrost to missionaries at G., 5th Mch., 1815.

¹⁶⁾ Theal, records, ix, pp. 461-2; x, pp. 328-32.

in 1850 four dissatisfied Hottentots presented a petition to Sir Harry Smith including a plea for the granting of a regular title for the lands of Genadendal.¹⁷⁾ The investigation which was set on foot then re-opened the question of the mission society's title to Genadendal.¹⁸⁾ The official investigation viz., the Surveyor General and the civil commissioner at Caledon, recommended that the lands at Genadendal be granted on a nominal quitrent to the Superintendent of the mission in trust for the Hottentots. Missionaries were to remain in full possession of the buildings necessary for the running of the institution, and to retain the right to water and good and such other rights as they had hitherto possessed. The Commission envisaged the early granting of a municipality to Genadendal, when these rights of the missionaries were to be reserved.¹⁹⁾ Both commissioners had been in favour of granting title deeds to the individual plot holders, but realised this to be impossible because of the confusion of rights to land at Genadendal.²⁰⁾

Title was not granted to the Oravians then but only after repeated appeals by the missionaries.²¹⁾ The issue was complicated by the discovery of an error in the survey of 1815 which excluded most of the oldest buildings from the title-grant. Fortunately the Surveyor General did not object to including this in a correct survey.²²⁾ Title was eventually granted and received by the missionaries in 1858²³⁾ on the conditions which had been envisaged in 1850.²⁴⁾ The size of the area granted was entered as 5598 morgen.²⁵⁾

Simultaneously with the negotiations for the title to the Genadendal lands attempts were, as we have seen, made to introduce individual tenure. The 1850 commission found

17) CO 611 Memorial of J. Jass, P. Abrahams, M. Fourie, M. Jansen to Governor Sir H. Smith, 26th Sept., 1850.

18) Nchr. 1. 1852: Ber. G., Jul. Dez., 1850.

19) CO 611 Surveyor General to Colonial Office, 26th Sept. 1851.

20) CO 611 Civil Commissioner Mackay to Ch. Bell Surveyor General 6th Sept., 1851.

21) CO 677 Memorial of United Brethren Missionaries re Title, 11th Feb., 1856; C.R. K31bing to Colonial Secretary, 18th Nov., 1856; Memorial from Genadendal, 7th Jan., 1858 & K31bing, 16th Jan., 1858.

22) CO 694 K31bing to Colonial Secretary, 5th Dec. 1857; Memorial to Governor Grey from Superintendent, 5th Dec., 1857.

23) Nchr. 4. 1860: Bericht G., Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858.

24) CO 677 Draught Title, endorsed 20th October, 1857.

25) Nchr. 4. 1860: Ber., G., Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858.

that its introduction would have been very difficult. in 1854 a bill was introduced into parliament aimed at dividing the mission station lands into 'erven' to be given as freehold to the occupiers.⁶⁾ The missionaries at Genadendal drew up a petition which was supported by the majority of the inhabitants, who apparently realised the danger of such a development.²⁷⁾ In a letter to the select committee which considered the bill, Kölbing argued that the Coloureds would lose their lands if freehold titles were granted to them. The lauds at Genadendal were not capable of carrying the population living at the station. The reason why the inhabitants could subsist was that they worked for the farmers during the busy seasons. If land tenure were not specially safeguarded the Coloured occupiers would lose their plots and be dispersed. The granting of the 'erven' in freehold would cause an influx of low class

Europeans who would disrupt the morals of the Genadendal community. The existing racial feeling was not caused by the presence of institutions but by the fact that

"As long as the coloured classes are treated with contempt because they are coloured, this feeling of races will not die away.")

The bill was not accepted in parliament.) A strong body²⁹

of opinion outside Genadendal in favour of such a division of the lands until 1892 and later. It was Superintendent Hennig who then defended the 'clinging to the

grants besides, there was a small party of residents in favour of individual title deeds.³¹⁾

In the beginning the colonial authorities expected the missionaries to police Genadendal. In 1831, for instance, they were instructed to ascertain whether there were any Hottentot deserters at Baviaanskloof.³³⁾ The authorities

26) Nchr. 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

27) CO 637 Petition of Genadendal householders against introduction of freehold at G., to Lt. - Gov., C.H. Darling, 2nd Aug., 1854.

28) Cape of Good Hope Appendix to Votes and Procedures of Parliament 1856: C.R. Kölbing to Select Committee, 15th Apr.

29) Nchr. 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

30) P. Accs. No. 32, 1897: The 'grant stations' Br. Hennig.

31) Nchr. 4. 1860: Ber. G., Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858.

32) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 92.

33) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1801.

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were satisfied with their handling of problems of public order.³⁴) In cases when the missionaries were unable to enforce the authority of the government, officials were despatched to their aid, for instance, when a person resisted expulsion from the village.³⁵) The British authorities tried to give the 'captains' at Genadendal some policing authority but apparently to little effect³⁶)

in consequence it was the missionaries with the help of the 'opzieners' who apprehended suspected criminals. These were mainly stock thieves and runaway slaves,³⁷) but also more serious offenders)

Occasionally government officials enforced orders which applied to the settlement such as the order received by

Teunissen to limit the number of Hottentots and cattle at

Baviaanskloof.³⁸) Others commandeered residents to per-

form policing tasks, such as the recapture of runaway

slaves.⁴⁰) in 1849, the government appointed a constable

with powers to arrest offenders against the law. The first

constable as overseer recommended by the missionaries,⁴¹

but after four months a white constable was appointed.)

As the apprehension of criminals was now a responsibility of the civil authorities it is difficult to understand why farmers still accused the missionaries of being unco—operative in the tracking down of criminals.⁴²)

There does not seem to have been very much work for the constable because he was later made postmaster as well.") in 1857 a monthly court to be held by the magistrate from Caledon was instituted, but this found so little work that

34) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Jan. - Feb., 1802.

35) C.I. Latrobe, pp. 384, 398-402.

36) *ibid.*, pp. 402-3; Nchr. 1. 1826: Ber. G., 1824; *ibid.*, 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

37) e.g. Nchr. 6. 1819: Ber. G., Jan. - Spt., 1818; *ibid.*, 6. 1820: Ber. G., Okt. - Dez., 1818.

38) *ibid.*, 3. 1833: Ber. G., 1830.

39) BO 33 Instructions of Sluysken regarding Hottentots at Zoetemelks vallei, 10th Jan., 1795; Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1795.

40) P. Accs. 141: Diary G., 1810 Mch. - Jul.; Nchr. 3. 1823: Apr. - Spt., 1821.

41) Nchr. 3. 1851: Ber. G., 1849; *ibid.*,² 1854: Ber. G., 1852.

42) C. of G. H. Interrogation of Caledon farmers. 1856.

43) P. Accs. No. 27. 1896: A Moravian Settlement - E. Jacob.

was later only convened bimonthly .44)

At this stage it seems necessary to review in detail the development of government policy towards Genadendal. The three first missionaries were well received by the authorities of the Company at the Cape. they were advised to stay in Cape Town until Teunissen the commander of the

Company's post, Zoetemelksvallei, arrived. Teunissen was instructed to 'assist and advise them to the utmost of his power' and, as described above, did so in the beginning.⁴⁵) The Landdrost of Stellenbosch too was Instructed to protect and aid the missionaries and to order his veldcornets to do the same.⁴⁶) Thus the government of the company did much to assist the missionaries in the founding of Genadendal.

later the attitude of the government changed. This was a result of the difficult position of the last Company Governor Sluysken, who had to defend the cape against British attack hampered by revolts in the interior. Sluysken in deference to public opinion, prohibited the missionaries from ringing the bell and from erecting buildings,⁴⁷) The most serious interference was Sluysken's order to Teunissen

to prevent the overstocking of Baviaanskloof. This prohibited Hottentots from distant parts to bring all their cattle without the permission of their masters. Hottentots, who were not original residents had to return their cattle to where they had come from.) The enforcement of this order^{caused}

an estrangement between Teunissen and the three missionaries.

According to them Teunissen had bribed hottentots to testify

44) P. Accs. CCXXVII, 1857: D.W. Suhl, 3rd Apr., 1857; *ibid.*, No. 27. 1896: A Moravian Settlement - E. Jacob.

45) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

46) GO 677 Memorial of United Brethren Missionaries, 11th Feb., 1856, Annex B: Extract of Resolution in "Raad van Politie", 19th Dec., 1792.

47) J.T. Hamilton, A History of the Missions of the Moravian Church. 1901. p. 72-4, H.G. Schneider, G., p. 114-6; BO 33 Petition by Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel for permission to ring bell, 25th Feb., 1798. Hamilton and Schneider maintain that Sluysken prohibited the erection of a pig-sty, (Zwarte-beest huisje - probably Hartebeesthuis) and that the preacher at Stellenbosch complained because he could not hear the bell, whereas he did so because the bell was in his parish, c.f. the Lutheran Church in Cape Town. See J. Du Plessis, A History, ch. ix.

48) BO 33 Instruction of Sluysken regarding Hottentots at Zoetemelksvallei, 10th Jan., 1795, (Translated Copy).

to the authorities in Cape Town that Baviaanskloof was overstocked. Attempts by Marsveld and some Hottentots to procure the revocation of this order proved unsuccessful. On the intervention of friendly farmers the order was rescinded.

These difficulties were not the result of a policy. When the missionaries fled to Cape Town before Pisani in 1795 the threat to the security of Genadendal by this rebel leader was considered a slight to the authority of the Government by the indignant Governor. When Sluysken had come to an agreement with the swellendam

nation, the missionaries returned to Baviaanskloof with his promise of protection.⁵⁰) After the surrender of the colony,

of the British government towards the mission, he waited on Governor Sluysken, who told him that he had written to

when he visited General Craig he was assured of the protection of the British authorities. Overruling Teunissen's opposition they transformed their promise into actions when some Hottentots petitioned them for permission to proceed to Baviaanskloof) they also instructed Teunissen to protect the hottentots at the Baviaanskloof against the violence of the colonists, who were taking the law into their own hands when they heard of Lee's arrival of a Dutch fleet under Admiral Lucas.⁵²) The strong action of the government, when the farmers around Baviaanskloof threatened to destroy the institution, prevented serious developments. The position of missionaries and Hottentots was made secure by the posting of dragoons to Zoetmelksvallei.⁵³)

The missionaries were again permitted to ring their bell and to erect a church,⁵⁴) although the Landrost of Stellenbosch still looked with disfavour upon the institution.⁵⁵) the relations between the British administration and the missionaries remained cordial. accompanied, Jieutelieat-

49) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1795 (Jan-Apr.)

50) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1795 (Jul. - Aug.)

51) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1795 (Oct.)

52) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Jan. - Spt., 1796 (Aug.)

53) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Jan. - Spt., 1796 (Feb.)

54) BO 33 Petition by Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel for bell, 25th Feb., 1798, and Petition of Bklf. missionaries for permission to erect a church. (no date).

55) BO 33 Landdrost R.J.v.d. Riet to Gov. Craig, 9th Jun., 1796.

Governor Dundas in 1799 on his tour of appeasement of the frontier.⁵⁶) ,hen the Batavians arrived, in 1302, Dundas recommended the brethren to he care of Janssens.⁵⁷

attitude of the Batavian authorities was very much the same as that of the first British occupation. Both Janssens and De Mist visited Baviaans-kloof and seem to have been impressed.⁵⁸) They asked the Brethren at Baviaans-kloof

for a ~~chaplain~~^{Wynbrag} to serve the Hottentot troops in the camp at ⁵⁹

. Konrhammer was selected for this work. he last act of the Batavian government was to **give** Baviaans-kloof the core appropriate name of Genadendal.⁶⁰)

ernor Caledon arrived in 1807, Kühnel wrote:

'that we lost in Governor Jansen, God has given us again in Lord caledon; who, when Brother bonatz and I called upon him, assured us okras friendship and good will to our Mission.)

he first action of Caledon was to suggest the commencement of a station at Groenekloof (later mamre) and to grant the land for it.⁶²) The favourable attitude of the British authorities is evident in the correspondence between Dawning Street and the castle. The Moravian missionaries were recommended to the special care of the Governors at the cape.)

~~Successive~~ Governors stated that the^y appreciated the work of the Moravians and assisted them where the, could.⁶⁴)

The increase of the land grant and the securing of the title are further proofs of the favour of the government. When in 1817 Somerset, reported to Bathurst that the missionaries in the Colony had not benefited it, he excepted the —Moravians⁶⁵ cost of the Governors visited the institution ,⁶⁶ some even

56) Exs. P. Accs. Jul., 1799 - Jan., 1800, Journal Bklf.

57) Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 310.

58) Exs. P. Accs. Reports on Bklf. Feb., 1803; *ibid.*, Diary Bklf. May 1803 - Nov., 1804.

59) *ibid.*, Diary Bklf. May 1803 - Nov., 1804.

60) Papers relative to Natives, 1835, Notes of P.B. Borchersds.

61) P. Accs. LII: J.C. Kühnel, G., 12th Jan., 1808.

62) *ibid.*, LIV: Diary Bklf. Jan. - Feb., 1808; Theal, Records, Vol. vi, p. 270-1.

63) Theal, Records, vol. vi. p. 83, ix. p. 273-4, x. p. 301-2 353-4.

64) *ibid.*, vi 270-1, ix, p. 461-2, x. p. 325-32.

65) *ibid.*, vol. xi, 25 p. 254.

66) P. Accs. LIV: Diary G., Jan. - Feb., 1808; *ibid.*, LXVIII, Küster, G., 21st Apr., 1813; Mohr. 5. 1819: Ber. G., 1817; *ibid.*, 3. 1823: Ber. G., Apr. - Spt., 1821; *ibid.*, 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826; *ibid.*, 1. 1826: Ber. G., 1833; *ibid.*, 1. 1834: Ber. G., 1830.

after the tape had got representative governments)

The governments, however, made use of the man power available at Genadendal. Hottentots were used in the repercussions of the 'trench Revolutionary Wars in the Colony. later they were employed on the Lantern Frontier against the . Finally they played their part in the Transvaal jar of 18L;--1.

In 1795 the Dutch East India Company was in dire need of troops when an English attack threatened. It did not hesitate to levy hottentots as auxiliaries. Four cannon shots summoned the Hottentots to defend the Gape. the

missionaries admonished the Hottentots to go which they did!, albeit reluctantly. .Because of the absence of the :_en the government had to provide floor for the dependents of the soldiers. In September, 1795 most of the Hottentot auxiliaries returned. „f their conduct as soldiers the missionaries report:

he Hottentots ae in general considered as grave soldiers, and were always pot in the van, the farmers and citizens bringing up the rear.")

As the English had difficulties in the interior and their forces were limited, they also recruited men from, the

settlement. In May, 1796 there were over a hundred men in their service. e congregation was depleted because the men took their wives and children with them. the missionaries had

difficulties in feeding those dependents who stayed. After the surrender of the Dutch fleet in Saldanha Bay the colonists acquiesced in the English rule and the English released many Coloured soldiers. ⁶⁹)

Governor Janssens in turn called for Hottentot volunteers. in 1803 already successful attempts were made at recruiting Hottentots. In October and September 1803 about 30 Hottentots volunteered and joined the forces in Gape .own. the

Batavian authorities were especially desirous of having; pendable Baviaanskloof men as sergeants and corporals. The rest of the tibia bodied men premised to proceed to Gape 'X0411

when the signal can was fired. Captain Beseur praised their conduct and said their only complaint was the copious swearing of the other volunteers at Wynberg. Governor Janssens quartered the dependents of Hottentot volunteers on the

67) P. Accs. CCXXVII, 1855: C.R. K lbing, 1st Feb., 1855, ibid., CCLVIII, 1862: W.F. Bechler, G., 11th Nov., 1862.

68) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1795.

69) H.G. Shhneider, G., p. 148; Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Jan. - Spt., 1796.

Baviaanskloof village. 187 women and children arrived there in October, 1804. Soon afterwards the able bodied men, who had not volunteered, were called to Cape Town.⁷⁰⁾

After 18c6 the ,English authorities required troops to defend the eastern Frontier. Besides volunteers, 90 men were commandeered to join the army in 1811.⁷¹⁾ In the following year 21 volunteers were recruited for a hottentot regiment.⁷²⁾

Hottentot volunteers on their discharge in the jeers between 1810 and 1820 had to promise to proceed to an institute such as Genadendal.⁷³

Soldiers from the _____ were **highly** valued because:

...whilst the hottentot soldier, formerly without sense or feeling of religion, now knows the nature of an oath and appreciates its value.")

In 1619 the danger had become so acute that the

105 men with him to join the burgher forces as wagoners. he had been ordered to enlist 120 men but through the intercession of Hallbeck he was satisfied with fewer. she enlisted men had all returned by the end of the year.⁷⁵)

In February, 1823, Captain Somerset arrived with instructions to recruit Hottentots for the Geese Corps. He informed the men of this plan. In May a recruiting officer arrived who only **procured** 13 men. He caused a disturbance on using liquor to persuade others to join the corps. The missionaries put a stop to this and he complained that the Genadendal people were disobeying government orders. Hall-**beck** was able to satisfy the authorities and undertook to explain the need for soldiers to his people. When eleven more Hottentots were prepared to go)

in 1835 200 men were levied for a commando. The Gendendal economy was hard hit by the absence of the men,

burghers had been discharged.⁷⁷⁾ The government was forced to supply the dependents with flour. Their commanding officer

70) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. May, 1803 - Nov., 1804.

71) P. Accs. LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811; Theal, Records, vol. vi, p. 347.

72) P. Accs. LXVI: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1812.

⁷³⁾ Nchr. 2. 1854: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1852.

⁷⁴) Theal Records, vol. vi, p. 271.

75) Miss. Reg. Oct., 1820: Diary G., 1819.

76) Mchr. 5. 1824: Ber. G., Jan. - März, 1823; ibid., 1. 1825: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1823.

77) Select Committee, Aborigines, 1836, Hallbeck.

was pleased *with* the conduct of the hottentots and said they were a model to the regiment. they were only discharged in 1836.⁷⁸⁾

In May, 1846 over 300 **men** were levied from Genadendal for the Seventh Kaffir War. they returned in February, the following year. phis time they were able to send home some money. They sent letters home fairly frequently . Again they *re highly* praised by their commanders. They **only fault** found with *there*. was that they sometimes drank too much. After they had returned, another attempt was made to recruit volunteers. Favourable terms were offered and eventually about 100 men joined the Hottentot Corps. They were promised land in Kaffraria and a free journey for their dependents *go glair* future domicile near the frontier.⁷⁹⁾

In January, and February, 1851 many were again prepared to defend the Colony in the Eighth Kaffir War. In the end about 36J men from Genadendal served at the front. *ire* three statlons of the ;Moravian Brethren alone, provided 1,000 men for the prosecution of the mar. the Genadendalers experienced sharp engagements in the Amatola Mountains and acquitted themselves well. They remained loyal to the government after the Shiloh and at river not Hottentots revolted. Most of these

Hottentots arrived back in July, 1851 and immediately recruiting started for the formation of a free corps. As the returned men had been dissatisfied with their burgher officers, who had seduced the young Hottentot *to* drinking and card playing, the recruiting was unsuccessful at first. *mater* on, however, over a hundred men from Genadendal volunteered. Some returned but about 70 of *treem* remained on the frontier⁸⁰⁾ and be an to lead the dlissipated life of soldiers.

When an attempt was made in 1878 to recruit 300 volunteers not one of **the** beside; *s* would risk his life as they did not consider the Colony endangered.⁶¹⁾ in 1681, however, over a hundred men were prepared to join the forces as wagoners.⁸²⁾

The Coloured community also played a part in **the con-**

78) Nchr. 3. 1838: Ber. G., 1835; *ibid.*, 2. 1840: Ber. G., 1837

79) *ibid.*, 6. 1848: Ber. G., 1846; *ibid.*, 2. 1849: Ber. G., 1847

80) Nchr. 2. 1853: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez. 1851; *ibid.*, 2. 1845; Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1852.

81) *ibid.*, 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878.

82) *ibid.*, März 1882: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1881; *ibid.*, Nov., 1882: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1881.

stitutional development of the Cape colony. When in 1846 -9 the Colony was stirred to indignation **by** the plan to land convicts at the Cape, the missionaries felt that this would endanger the moral security of their Hottentots . They

therefore drew up a petition signed by 472 coloureds and requested the revocation of this order. in 1849 the residents pledged their support to the Antic-Convict-Association , and when the ship had arrived in Table Bay many Genadendalers signed the resolution passed at the mass Meeting which decided to actively oppose the landing of the convicts.⁸³⁾

introduction of the representative constitution in 1853 filled the Coloureds at Genadendal with apprehension and the missionaries had to explain it to them and allay their fears.⁸⁴⁾ By this constitution many residents

qualified as voters. the elections held in 1854 were fairly

quiet,) out in the 1856 elections the missionaries were shocked by the copious drinking.⁶⁶⁾ In 1869 the candidates for the Upper house provided a roast in Genadendal at which wine was served and the candidates for use Lower House procured votes by bribing members of the electorate.⁶⁷⁾ During the elections in 1871 the missionaries estimated that 1.500 bottles of wine were brought into the settlement.⁸⁸⁾ when, as *in* 1874, there was no polling station at Genadendal, the successful candidates thanked the Genadendal electorate for their support by sending 450 bottles of wine;⁸⁹⁾ wonder the missionaries felt that the right to vote was of no real benefit to the Coloureds at Genadendal. In 1878 they again complain of copious bribing. Unscrupulous candidates made use of the Coloured vote for their own ends, yet the

Brethren dared not advise their charges for fear of evoking the opposition of the political parties.⁹⁰⁾ A few years better the missionaries characterise the situation thus:

"Tenn ein angelegender volksbeglückender 'Utz wad Stimme erlangen will, werden hunderte von Pfund Sterling ausgegeben, um die Stimmen der Farbigen zu erhalten, und ist dann der Zweck er-

- 83) Nchr. 1. 1850: Ber. G., 1848; ibid., 3. 1851: Ber. G., 1849
- 84) ibid., 4. 1855: Ber. G., Jan. - Spt., 1853.
- 85) ibid., 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.
- 86) ibid., 5. 1860: Ber. G., Aug. - Dez., 1858.
- 87) Nchr. 2. 1871: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1869.
- 88) ibid., 4. 1873: Ber. G., 1871.
- 89) ibid., 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.
- 90) ibid., 1. 1880: Ber. G., 1878.

reicht, dam) hilft sin solcher durch die Stimmen der Eingeborenen the Parliament Gelangter esetze machen, die parade diese armen Eingeborgen aufs empfindlichste treffen und schädigen ')

In 1884 the secret ballot was introduced and this improved the behaviour of voters at Genadendal. the Granting first of representative and then of responsible Government to the ape Colony made the government subject to censure by the fuming interest, and therefore, the influence of the missionaries on government policy became less effective. the advent of the Afrikanerbond in the 1880ies made the missionaries apprehensive.') We Government, influenced by ⁹³ this party, reduced the financial grants to mission schools. the relations between the community and government were only stabilised when the 1909 Mission Lands Act was applied to Genadendal in 1926.⁹⁴)

⁹¹) Nchr. 3. 1885: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1883. (when a prospective benefactor of the people wants to get a seat in Parliament, hundreds of pounds sterling are expended to obtain the votes of the Coloureds, and when the goal is reached such a man, who has been voted into Parliament by the natives, helps to pass legislation that is especially injurious to these poor natives.)

⁹²) Nchr. 5. 1885: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1884.

⁹³) *ibid.*, 10. 1889: Jan. - Jun., 1886.

⁹⁴) L.R. Schmidt, Die plaaslike bestuur, 1792-1926.

VI.

Relations with the colonists.

The colonists were divided in their attitude towards the United Brethren at Genadendal. There were always some who were favourably inclined to the missionaries; others were bitterly opposed.

The first missionaries were welcomed by a number of fervent Christians in Cape Town, and they called on a certain Cloete at Gonstantia. When the missionaries had established themselves at aviaanskloof, two farmers visited them and one of the two invited them to his home, saying: "Let us be good neighbours."¹⁾ The missionaries visited the farmers and European visitors attended the services at Baviaanskloof.²⁾ It was on religious grounds that this early friendship between farmers and missionaries was based.

European who attended services on festive occasions are frequently mentioned in the accounts from 1750 onwards to about 1850. From then such visitors became fewer until at the end of our period no persons from the neighbourhood, except clergymen, visited the institution.³⁾ Until the emancipation of the slaves in 1838, the slaves from neighbouring farms, accompanied by their masters, attended divine service at

Genadendal and Christmas and New Year services were generally well attended because farmers allowed their Hottentot servants to go to Genadendal after the harvest had been gathered in.⁴⁾

The intervention of Mr. Cloete and his friends saved Baviaanskloof from serious trouble. On receiving Cloete's report on the order limiting the number of cattle at the station, the authorities rescinded the order. Cloete later purchased the land adjoining the mission 'with a view to the safety of the mission.'⁵⁾

There was, however, also a great deal of bitter opposition to the missionaries. The reasons for this opposition are obvious. The farmers feared that the institution at Baviaanskloof would deplete their labour supply because the Hottentots obviously preferred to go there than work for them. The mission lands, furthermore, limited the expansion

1) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

2) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. 1795.

3) Nchr. and P. Accs. *passim*.

4) e.g. Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1801; Nchr. 6. 1820: Ber. G., Okt. - Dez., 1818.

5) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1795.

of the farmers.) in addition the farmers felt that the Hottentots should not benefit from an education that they had never been able to procure for themselves.) As Calvinists, the colonists at first⁸ opposed the type of religion preached at Baviaanskloof.) Finally, they disliked that the missionaries interceded for the⁹ Hottentots when they had been ill-treated by their masters.)

Certain colonists, therefore, attempted to make the position of the missionaries untenable. They planned a boycott of the mission which was unsuccessful.¹⁰ Farmers tried to detain hottentots proceeding to Baviaanskloof by such methods as holding back their children.¹¹) Malicious rumours were started with the aim of deterring Hottentots from moving to the station.¹²)

in 1795, when the cape was troubled by disturbances in the interior and the threat of an English attack, the security of the missionaries too, was threatened. In July Hottentots reported that the farmers who had taken part in the revolt at Swellendam had told them that the school at Baviaanskloof would soon no longer exist. The three missionaries thereupon prepared for flight. On the advice of Teunissen they sent home all the hottentots who came from beyond the Sonderend River to pacify the insurgents. But on the 20th July, some of the 'nationals' arrived to inform them of their decision regarding the institution. KUhnelt was shown an article in their manifesto which read as follows:

We will not permit any Moravians to live here and instruct the Hottentots, for as there are many Christians who receive no instruction, it is not proper, that the hottentots should be made wiser than the Christians, but they must remain what they were formerly.

Those Hottentots who were born on a farmer's estate must live there, and serve the farmer till they are 25 years old, before they receive wages.

The Hottentots must live among the farmers and not assemble together as at Baviaans Kloof.

All Bushmen, or wild hottentots caught by us, must remain slaves For life.

Item, the Moravians were never meant to be employed among the Hottentots of this country, but among the Bushmen..."

6) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793; H. Lichtenstein, I p. 245-6.

7) Exs. P. Accs. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793, Journal Bklf.

8) H. Lichtenstein, I p. 245-6.

9) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

10) C.I. Latrobe, p. 117-8.

11) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

12) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793 and 1795.

This manifesto was said to have been sizzled by three thousand. Yet the threats of the 'nationals' themselves did not materialize. ¹³)

In July the Brethren received a peremptory order from Commandant Pisani, who was reputed to be marching on

Rodesand with 800 men, to leave Baviaanskloof immediately.

Teunissen advised them to go to Cape Town and promised to take care of their belongings. They left Baviaanskloof on the 31st, July. On their arrival in Cape Town they immediately proceeded to the Governor, who was surprised at the audacity of Pisani. The representative of the 'nationals' in Cape

Town, who was negotiating an agreement on the defence of the Colony with the authorities of the company, told the

missionaries that Pisani was not one of them and that they would not be harmed if they returned. Pisani was captured by the 'nationals' themselves and handed over to the officials in

Cape Town. The Governor was then of the opinion that they would be safe, so in August they returned on the wagons of one of their farmer friends. ¹⁴)

In February, 1796, after the English had occupied the Cape apparently another attack on the mission threatened. According to the journal a number of men gathered on a farm near Baviaanskloof with the aim of destroying the station. Hottentots brought the news of this attack to the missionaries, another informed the government. General Craig sent a letter to Teunissen threatening severe reprisals if such an outrage should occur. ¹⁵) After this incident, never more than a strong threat, ¹⁶) there was peace.

In subsequent years a number of 'unimportant differences over the boundaries of land' arose. ¹⁷) In 1796 their old friend Cloete complained about the trespassing of cattle onto his farm. Similar complaints were made by farmers who lived beyond Cloete's establishment. ¹⁸) The missionaries believed that the land on which the cattle of the Hottentots grazed did not belong to Cloete as no farms were to have been given out in the Baviaanskloof area. ¹⁹) in fairness to

13) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1795.

14) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. 1795.

15) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. 1796.

16) H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 245-6; c.f. J. Barrow, I, pp. 311-2.

17) H. Lichtenstein, I, pp. 245-6.

18) BO 33 Landdrost v.d. Riet to Craig, 9th Jun., 1796, and Annexes.

19) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1796.

Cloete, however, it must be mentioned that he produced his title to the farm Weltevreden. The only condition that the Company had imposed was that Cloete was not to drive his cattle through the Sonderend and thereby infringe the rights of the neighbouring Hottentots.²⁰) Three years later, the missionaries and Cloete's son came to an agreement. The Hottentots were permitted to graze their cattle on Cloete's farm twice a week.')

In 1799 the missionaries petitioned the English Governor because of the encroachment of two farmers on Baviaanskloof land.²²) matter was settled in favour of the missionaries after the land had been resurveyed.²³) All the land seized by the farmers was not returned because that would have endangered their financial position. Baviaanskloof was compensated by a grant of money towards the cultivation of the land returned.²⁴) After this no serious boundary disputes are on record except unfounded claims of certain residents in 1850 and 1907.²⁵)

the relations between the missionaries and the colonists improved steadily during the first British occupation. The number of visitors to the services held at Baviaanskloof increased. their attitude towards these services was no longer one of curiosity but one of religious sincerity. The missionaries permitted their slaves to attend.²⁶) From eighty to a hundred whites attended the Christmas and New Year services in 1801-2.²⁷) They were beginning to appreciate the value of Hottentots educated at Baviaanskloof and began to prefer

Christian servants to heathen.²⁸) When Lichtenstein visited the settlement he noted that cordial friendship existed between missionaries and the colonists.²⁹,

²⁰) BO 33 ~~Letter~~ Landdrost v.d. Riet to Craig, 9th Jun., 1796, Annex.

²¹) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1799.

²²) BO 33 Petition against encroachment by Moravians, 12th Jan., 1799.

²³) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1801.

²⁴) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. Nov. - Sept., 1802.

²⁵) Nchr. l. 1852: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1850; P. Accs. Sept., 1907: Report of Missions: South Africa West.

²⁶) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Jul., 1799 - Jan., 1800.

²⁷) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. 1801.

²⁸) *ibid.*, Kohnhammer G., to Secretary of the Society, 1st Jul., 1798.

²⁹) H. Lichtenstein, I, pp. 245-6.

After 1802 it was a regular practice for colonists to spend Christmas and New Year at Genadendal.³⁰⁾ The colonists were accommodated in the houses of Coloured residents.³¹⁾ Sometimes there were over twenty wagons on the 'wer t.'³²⁾ The number of people attending religious festivals decreased after 1850,³³⁾ although in 1869 nearly a hundred Whites attended the services at Easter.³⁴⁾ In general the attitude of the Europeans had changed, and it is noted with surprise in the diary of 16 Barea for 1872 that Europeans attended a service together with the Coloured inhabitants.³⁵⁾

The missionaries thus had opportunities to influence the religious views of their neighbour. They used hottentots to disperse tracts among the farmers. The wealthier the colonists grew in relation to the Coloureds the less frequently did this take place. Colonists soon showed that they were genuinely affected by the teaching of the brethren and special Meetings were held for them.³⁷⁾ In the early 1830ies the missionaries discerned a definite awakening among the farmers.") The Brethren frequently held burial services for deceased colonists in the vicinity.³⁹⁾ The religious influence of the missionaries over the colonists grew less when they were better served by their own clergy.

The services of the brethren on the outstations were also attended by colonists. Indeed some farmers made it possible for the brethren to found outstations on their farms.⁴⁰⁾

Healthy colonists occasionally gave valuable presents, for instance Baron Ludwig who presented English, Dutch and German books for the Genadendal library and a bell ringing apparatus for Kopjes Kasteel.⁴¹⁾ During the famine in 1822

Landdrost Schönberg of Swellendam opened a subscription for the

30) P. Accs. LIII: Diary G., Sept. - Dec., 1807; *ibid.*, ~~III~~ Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810.

31) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bkif. May, 1803 - Nov., 1804.

32) P. Accs. LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811.

33) Nchr. 5. 1860: Ber. G., Aug. - Dez., 1858.

34) *ibid.*, 2. 1871: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1869.

35) *ibid.*, 8. 1872: Ber. Barea, 1871.

36) Exs. P. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 8th Oct., 1834.

37) Nchr. ~~1831~~: 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

38) *ibid.*, 6. 1834: Ber. G., 1832.

39) e.g. P. Accs. CXOV 1847: Diary G., 1845; Nchr. 2. 1849: Ber. G., 1847.

40) Nchr. 2. 1844: Ber. G., 1841; *ibid.*, 4. 1851: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1850; P. Accs. No. 18. 1894: Visitation of Br. Buchner.

41) Nchr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

poor in Genadendal.⁴²⁾ The colonises, were, however, criticised by the Rev. J. Murray for not leading a Christian life themselves and thus setting an example to their servants.⁴³⁾

There was bound to be some social contact between the farmers and the Coloured inhabitants of the settlement. The missionaries realised from the very beginning that it caused vice and even crime among their charges when they **went out** to work for the farmers.⁴⁴⁾ There were the detrimental effects of migratory labour on family life. Both men and women labourers had to sleep in one room. by the tot system the labourers were given wine four to five times a day and sometimes instead of wages.⁴⁵⁾ No wonder missionaries expected to learn of regrettable incidents during the harvest season.⁴⁶⁾ One farmer gave his labourers plenty of wine but hardly ever money and when⁴⁷⁾ they wished to leave he made out that they owed him money.) 'canteens' were licensed in the neighbourhood of Genadendal through the efforts of enemies of the mission on the licensing boards.⁴⁸⁾ The

missionaries criticised the farmers in their accounts because they did not give their coloured labourers enough wages and in fact despised them.⁴⁹⁾

The European entered the village for other than religious reasons. In 1844 for instance a European arrived with a wagon and brazenly commenced to sell wine ignoring the requests of the Brethren and 'opzieners' to leave.⁵⁰⁾ In 1834 a White youth had to be ejected by the 'opzieners' because he was found in houses where there were women only.⁵¹⁾ in the 1860ies The young colonists apparently caused many

disturbances. The Brethren had to stop a Number of dances organised by whites in the village for their amusement.⁵²⁾ In 1869 the missionaries feared the visit of European at

42) Nehr. 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

43) P. Accs. CCLXI, 1863: Description of G., - Rev. J. Murray.

44) Exs. P. Accs. Diary Bk1f. May, 1803 - Nov., 1804; P. Accs. LXIX: Diary G., Jan. - Apr. 1813.

45) Nehr. 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

46) *ibid.*, 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

47) P. Accs. No. 399. 1885: Diary G., Jul., 1884 - Jul., 1885.

48) Nehr. 3. 1866: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1864.

49) *ibid.*, 4. 1894: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1892.

50) *ibid.*, 2. 1847: Ber. G., 1844.

51) *ibid.*, 6. 1836: Ber. G., 1834.

52) *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1857: Ber. G., 1856; *ibid.*, 10. 1871: Ber. G., 1870.

crew -ear because of the disturbances they caused.)

:here were some moves made by colonists aired at putting difficulties in the way of the missionaries. the attempt by the colonists to introduce individual tenure at

Genadendal in Parliament has been mentioned.⁵) The

interrogation of farmer neighbours showed that the instigators of this move had received most of their information from Christian Reitz , who had been excluded from the congregation and had caused the missionaries serious trouble by opening a 'canteen' in the village.⁵⁵) the farmers objected to the store at Genadendal and the supply of wine to the Coloureds by the missionaries.⁵⁶) An influential enemy of the mission caused the replacement of the Coloured constable by a white constable.⁵⁷) Colonists who looked at the mission were at the bottom of the movement to grant liquor licenses to inhabitants of Greyton. The aim was to make the stationing of a magistrate there necessary as it was felt that the magistrate at Caledon was too sympathetic towards the Coloureds.⁵⁸) according to the missionaries a malignant attack on Genadendal by a colonist in the Divisional Council was the reason for the high assessment of Genadendal for the purpose of a road tax.⁵⁹) Impassioned attacks on the mission

sometimes appeared in the press. In some cases the accusations were refuted by outsiders.⁶⁰) Some of the outcries led to government investigations of conditions at the station. Usually the conduct of the missionaries and the inhabitants of Genadendal was vindicated on such occasions.⁶¹)

Genadendal was never the cause for a political controversy.⁶²) The records of the United Brethren Mission hardly refer to the outburst against⁶³) The Moravians

53) Nchr. 2. 1871: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1869.

54) *ibid.*, 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

55) C. of G. H. Appendix, Interrogation of farmers, 1856; Nchr. 5. 1860: Ber. G., Aug. - Dez., 1858.

56) Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 330-1.

57) Nchr. 2. 1854: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1852.

58) *ibid.*, 3. 1866: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1864.

59) *ibid.*, 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1886.

60) *ibid.*, 3. 1866: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1864.

61) *ibid.*, 3. 1851: Ber. G., 1849; P. Accs. Moravian Missions etc. Hallbeck, 5th Dec., 1823.

62) Nchr. 2. 1840: Ber. G., 1837.

63) P. Accs. No. 335, 1882: Retrospect of the Missionary Work of the Moravian Church during the past 50 years.

were especially excepted from the accusations which an agricultural society made in 1627 against the missionaries in

general.⁵⁴) political attacks on the Moravian stations only became serious during the 1850ies but were never widespread.

A non-farming section of the white population was highly sympathetic to the missionaries. The most important group of people who visited Genadendal and expressed admiration for the work done there consisted of high officials.

Frequently, especially in the early years, such people as officers from the Cape Town garrison or from ships in the harbour called.⁶⁵) Frequently the village was visited by persons⁶⁶ from overseas and often officials of the Indian government. In every cases they presented the mission with generous sums of money.⁶⁷) After 1846 these visits decreased as a result of the introduction of a steamship route via the Indian sea. The missionaries remark with regret that this development⁶⁸ was a loss to Cape Town and to the mission. The missionaries also received visits of sympathisers such as the la'.

Schmidt, who had acted as their host in 1792,⁶⁹) and Thomas Pringle, who was laid up in Genadendal after breaking his leg.⁷⁰)

The early relations of the Moravian with religious fellow workers were on the whole fairly cordial. in spite of Calvinist prejudice against the United Brethren some leading predikants, such as an bier and Jos, were great friends of the first missionaries.⁷¹) These relations improved rapidly after⁷² the inception of the South African Missionary Society. Relations with the Lutheran pastors in Cape town were always of the happiest.⁷³)

When Genadendal had become famous it was visited by

⁶⁴) Theal, Records, xxviii, p. 365.

⁶⁵) P. Accs. LX: Diary G., Sept. - Dec., 1809; *ibid.*, LX: Diary G., Jan. - Spt. 1810.

⁶⁶) *ibid.*, LXI: Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810.

⁶⁷) Mchr. 6. 1819: Jan. - Spt., 1818; *ibid.*, 1. 1822: Ber. G., Jan. - Spt. 1820.

⁶⁸) *ibid.*, 6. 1848: Ber. G., 1846.

⁶⁹) Exs. P. Accs. Short Reports Dec. - Jan., 1794-5.

⁷⁰) Mchr. 1. 1825: Ber. G., 1824.

⁷¹) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793 and Journal Bk. Mch., 1799.

⁷²) *ibid.*, Journal Bk. May 1803 - Nov., 1804.

⁷³) P. Accs. LXIII: Diary G., Aug., 1810 - Jun., 1811; *ibid.*, LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811; *ibid.*, CACV 1847: Diary G., 1845.

many missionaries, some of whom came for help and advice. ⁷⁴⁾
 the Brethren tried to dissuade Captain Gardiner from going
 to the 'Zoglahs', ⁷⁵⁾ they impressed Campbell with their in-
 stitution. ⁷⁶⁾ Dr. Philip visited Uenadendal twice and once
 spoke in English to those who could follow him in that lang-
 uage. ⁷⁷⁾ Converted Basusus of the Kiwis Evangelical Society,
 who had come with their teachers, talked to the congrega-
 tion in their own tongue 'with the aid of interpreters. ⁷⁸⁾
 The inhabitants of the village took ⁷⁹⁾ a great interest in the
 visit of the Reverend Head Junior. ⁸⁰⁾ relations with the
 Berlin and Rhenish societies were always excellent. ⁸¹⁾

⁷⁴⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 158-9; P. Accs. CCL, 1861: Kühn, G., 18th Dec., 1860.

⁷⁵⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 2nd Dec., 1854.

⁷⁶⁾ P. Accs. LXVI: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1812.

⁷⁷⁾ Nchr. 1. 1828: Ber. G., 1825; *ibid.*, 1. 1823: Ber. G., 1821.

⁷⁸⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

⁷⁹⁾ P. Accs. CCXXX, 1856: C.R. Kölbinger, G., 24th Spt., 1855.

⁸⁰⁾ *ibid.*, CCXXIII, 1854: D.W. Suhl, G., 21st Dec., 1853.

VII.

The Editor

reason for the favour with which the Government Brad the colonists looked upon the mission settlement at Genadendal were that it and the other Moravian stations, were supposed to be economically sound and that the inhabitants were taught to work and be thrifty. his opinion was usually arrived at after a comparison of Genadendal with Bethelsdorp. the Moravian missionaries themselves did not believe that the Bethelsdorp Hottentots were less industrious.¹ When a comparison like this is made it is necessary to take into account the time when the comparison was made. It must be remembered that Baviaanskloof-Genadendal had ten years start of Bethelsdorp. most of the criticisms of the latter station are found in early documents. in Genadendal the diligence of the Hottentots could easily be observed in the workshops, whereas the Bethelsdorp Coloureds were mainly agricultural workers. There were no village industries for lack of water and of suitable missionaries to teach trades. Moreover, the geographical factor must be considered. Genadendal in comparison with Bethelsdorp had undoubtedly the more advantageous setting.² It had a fairly abundant supply of water. water was available for the mill and irrigation. Although the soil was not very fertile it could be irrigated and in the Cape this is often important.⁵ Thus Breutel could write of Genadendal:

the gardens, which are well stocked with excellent vegetables, as well as with orange, peach, and rose-trees, afford sustenance to the body and pleasure to the eyes. A fine plantation of forest-trees surrounds them, Genadendal is proof of what industry can effect in South Africa, where an ample supply of water can be obtained, and in a locality in which the temperate and the torrid zones seem to join hands.')

Genadendal was, however, not a Garden of Eden and, especially in the beginning the Missionaries and the use of inhabitants had to contend with many difficulties caused by their environment. The abundance of water was not an unmixed blessing. Fairly frequently the gardens and cornlands were damaged by floods, Such as for instance in 1801 and in 1878 when a hundred gardens and many houses are

1) Select Committee Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

2) J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, 1939. p. 323. 347.

3) Theal, Records, xxv. p. 328.

4) P. Accs. CCXXIII, 1854: Breutel to Mission Directory (no date)

5) Mehr. 1. 1834: Ber. G., 1831; *ibid.*, 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878.

In the early years the agricultural and pastoral activities of the inhabitants were hampered by the attacks of wild animals. After the Hottentots had killed a large 'wolf' (probably a leopard) in March, 1799 the missionaries exclaimed:

"We were glad to have destroyed so great an enemy to our stock, for there are enough of other descriptions, tigers, jackals, musk-cats, ... with whom we are continually at war."⁶⁾

Baboons were a menace to the gardens as late as 1890, and a leopard was seen in the grounds at the same time.⁷⁾

Another great danger that was continually threatening Genadendal was the threat of veld fires. The parched veld during the summer increased the danger of fires.⁸⁾ When a veld fire threatened the bell on the 'werft' was rung and as many people as possible would gather together to fight it.⁹⁾ The village possessed a fire-engine as early as 1812 but it was of little use against grass fires.¹⁰⁾ The buildings on the 'werft' and in the settlement with their thatched roofs were and still are very vulnerable to fire. That they were never burnt down even after the fire-fighters had given up hope of saving them was felt to be due to divine intervention. In January, 1878 the wind turned;¹¹⁾ on another occasions there was rain.¹²⁾

The money required to run the institution came from both outside and inside Genadendal. The main income was derived from contributions of the Elder's Conference and from wealthy sympathisers of the mission. In the early years funds were made available by the Society of Friends of the United Brethren¹⁸⁴⁸ Mission in Holland. It together with the Zeys settlement raised most of the money required at Beviaanskloof up till 1800.¹³⁾ Later other societies such as the London Association of Friends of the United Brethren¹⁸⁴⁸ Missions also played an important part in the collection of funds.¹⁴⁾

⁶⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Mch., 1799.

⁷⁾ P. Accs. No. 4. 1890: Son of Dr. Drury, G., 29th May, 1890.

⁸⁾ P. Accs. LXV: Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1812; *ibid.*, CXXIX, 1853: C.R. Esling, G., 14th Feb., 1853.

⁹⁾ Nchr. 1. 1834: Ber. G., 1831.

¹⁰⁾ P. Accs. LXV: Diary G., 1812.

¹¹⁾ Nchr. 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878.

¹²⁾ Cape Argus: Saturday, 19. Sept. 1953.

¹³⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Advertisement, 1800; H.G. Schneider, G., p. 179.

¹⁴⁾ Nchr. 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854; *ibid.*, 3. 1868: Ber. G., Jun., 1865 - Dec., 1866.

Frequently the accounts enumerate gifts of clothing, bibles and books from these societies.¹⁵⁾ Individuals also gave gifts, such as a fire-engine, medicines,¹⁶⁾ a handmill,¹⁷⁾ an organ for the Genadendal church,¹⁸⁾ and clothing.¹⁹⁾ The distribution of presents of clothing or similar gifts was difficult.²⁰⁾ In some cases such gifts were sold at low prices and the money was used for the poor box.²¹⁾

In times of need special remissions were made by the Elder's Conference and the friends of the mission. This was the case in the disastrous years of 1822-3.²²⁾ Special donations were also made when a new church was erected, for example at Berea,²³⁾ or for the present Church in Genadendal.²⁴⁾

A certain amount of financial help was offered from within the Cape Colony. In 1795 and in 1799-1800 the government of the Colony provided the timber necessary for the erection of a church gratis.²⁵⁾ In the building of the first house at Baviaanskloof, Peunissen procured the building material for the first house at reduced prices.²⁶⁾

Before 1846 an important source of such money was made by donations of visitors, mainly officials from India. Slaves, in a position to earn money, also made contributions for the poor.²⁷⁾ A number of colonists sympathetic towards the mission sent aid. Landdrost Schönberg and Baron Ludwig have been mentioned. Later certain farmers provided land for outstations and contributed money for the rection of chapels. The Coloured members of the congregations on the outstations

15) e.g. P. Accs. LXI: Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810; Mchr. 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

16) P. Accs. LXIII: ^{Diary} ~~Diary~~ G., Aug., 1810 - Jun., 1811.

17) *ibid.*, LXI: Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810.

18) Mchr. 6. 1834: Ber. G., 1832.

19) *ibid.*, 8. 1819: Ber. G., 1817.

20) *ibid.*, 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

21) *ibid.*, 1. 1822: Jan. - Sept., 1820, Ber. G.,

22) *ibid.*, 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822; P. Accs. Moravian Missions etc., Hallbeck, G., 29th Apr., 1824.

23) Mchr. 3. 1868: Ber. Berea, Jun., 1865 - Dez., 1866.

24) P. Accs. No. 14, 1893: A Red Letter Day for G.

25) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1795 & Jul. - Dec., 1799; B0 33 Petition of Baviaanskloof Missionaries for permission to erect a Church.

26) Mchr. 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

27) *ibid.*, 6. 1819: Ber. G., Jan. - Sept., 1818.

28) P. Accs. CCXV: C.L. Teutsch, G., 25th Mch., 1852.

also collected funds.²⁸⁾

The missionaries aim from the beginning was to make the settlement self-sufficient. They therefore, commenced to teach the congregation to pay its way. The first suggestion to the chapel-servants and the congregation was to pay for the lighting of the church. Consequently the first church fee consisted of either a certain weight of tallow to be supplied when stock was slaughtered or sixpence a year.²⁹⁾ In 1802 the members of the congregation decided to pay an annual church fee of one shilling.³⁰⁾ In the course of time the amount was increased until in June, 1866 it was fixed at 6 shillings for men over 17 years and 4 shillings for women.³¹⁾ However, the willingness to pay was no longer general. In 1870 some members sent a petition to the Governor complaining that they were being forced to pay the fee.³²⁾ Although the petition was not considered by the Governor the contribution was not paid by approximately thirty percent of the members.³³⁾ There were regular collections in church for special purposes, for instance, for mission work in other fields,³⁴⁾ and the collection of funds for the new church between 1891 and 1893. The Hottentots in the village managed to raise a sum of £1225 over a period of three years for their new church.³⁵⁾

The idea of work for the good of the congregation was always present. When the first church was built in 1799-1800 the women and children gathered stones for the foundation and burnt bricks while the men transported the timber granted by the government.³⁶⁾ The present church was also built with the help of members of the congregation.³⁷⁾ Repair work and improvements on buildings and property used by the congregation were also carried out on a co-operative basis for example the upkeep of the burial ground.³⁸⁾

28) P. Accs. CCXV: C.L. Teutsch, G., 25th Mch., 1852.

29) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bkif. Jan. - Feb., 1799.

30) *ibid.*, Journal Bkif. Mch. - Spt., 1802.

31) Nchr. 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

32) *ibid.*, 10. 1871; Ber. G., Jan. - Jul., 1870.

33) *ibid.*, 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878.

34) *ibid.*, 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

35) P. Accs. No. 14, 1893: A Red Letter Day for G.,

36) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bkif. Jul. - Dec., 1799.

37) P. Accs. No. 14, 1893: A Red Letter Day for Genadendal.

38) Nchr. 1. 1823: Ber. G., Apr. - Spt., 1821; *ibid.*, 3. 1878: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1877.

As the mission was to be self-sufficient in order to grow their own food the first three Brethren commenced with preparation of ground for a garden in March, 1793,³⁹⁾ and later planted a vineyard.⁴⁰⁾ Soon the garden supplied most of their provisions.⁴¹⁾ and was admired by visitors.⁴²⁾ Their first attempts to keep cattle and goats were not successful, but soon the Brethren learnt how to look after them.⁴³⁾ The missionaries, however, it should be noted never used the land for their own profit.⁴⁴⁾

The 'industries' established on the station were to earn a profit to defray expenses incurred on the station. The energetic Kühnel established the knife manufacturing department. By 1797 his knives were being bought and sold in Cape Town at double the price.⁴⁵⁾ Kühnel had to make the tools necessary to shape the knives himself, with the help of his Hottentot labourers.⁴⁶⁾ In the beginning these knives produced the main income on the station. In 1808, however, they brought in only 300-400 Rds. annually.⁴⁷⁾ Later the manufacture of cutlery became less important.

A smithy was built in 1811.⁴⁸⁾ When Latrobe visited the settlement the combined cutlery and smithy employed 14 Hottentots.⁴⁹⁾ The smithy was mainly used to manufacture ironwork needed on the station.⁵⁰⁾ In 1847 ploughshares were produced in it.⁵¹⁾

The mill, built in 1797 to grind corn for the Hottentots and the missionaries⁵²⁾ was soon used by colonists as well.⁵³⁾ The mill was continually being improved. In 1818

39) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

40) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1797.

41) *ibid.*, (as note 40)

42) Lady Anne Barnard's Journal pp. 183; H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 249; J. Barrow, I, p. 309.

43) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1795.

44) CO 677 Memorial of United Brethren Missionaries, 11th Feb., 1856. Mission had: one span of oxen, a few cows and 4 horses, a few sheep for slaughter.

45) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Dec., 1797.

46) H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 250.

47) Theal, Records, vi, p. 347.

48) Mchr. 3. 1837: Bericht des Bruder Hallbeck.

49) C.I. Latrobe, p. 396-7.

50) Mchr. 3. 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai 1821.

51) P. Accs. CXCVIII: C.R. Eßling, G., 26th Oct., 1847.

52) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1797.

53) H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 250.

new millstones from the Rhine arrived. They were both better and cheaper than those hewn at Stellenbosch.⁵⁴⁾ In 1826 a new and larger waterwheel for the mill was fitted,⁵⁵⁾ and in 1864 a new mill was erected by Klinghardt.⁵⁶⁾ The mill was still in use a few years ago.⁵⁷⁾

Of the other trades introduced with the double aim of training craftsmen and of bringing in money for the mission the joiner's shop erected in 1811⁵⁸⁾ and the tannery, must be mentioned. An Irishman was engaged for the express purpose of starting the latter in 1828.⁵⁹⁾ It was still producing in 1884.⁶⁰⁾ Bigge mentions wheelwrights in 1823,⁶¹⁾ but wagon-making soon ceased to be a profitable undertaking. In 1862 Lady Duff Gordon met "a carpenter, a cabinet-maker, a shoe-maker, a storekeeper..."⁶²⁾ Towards the end of the Century new industries were introduced by the missionaries to provide the inhabitants with a means of making a living.

The 'store' was run by the missionaries for the good of the Hottentots. Since the Hottentots at first had no sense of the value of money they were easily duped by the farmers who supplied them with necessities. The missionaries strongly advised the villagers to buy from their store.⁶³⁾ The 'store' did, however, assist the station in its efforts towards self-support.⁶⁴⁾

The money derived from the Mission Directory and from the station's 'industries' was spent in various ways. Clothing and food for the 'missionary family' was not very expensive as the missionaries only received small salaries. When buildings had to be erected the expenses rose.⁶⁵⁾ In

⁵⁴⁾ Nchr. 6. 1820: Ber. G., Okt. - Dez., 1818.

⁵⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

⁵⁶⁾ *ibid.*, 9. 1865: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1864.

⁵⁷⁾ Information from S. Weder.

⁵⁸⁾ Nchr. 3. 1837: ~~Ber. G.~~, Bericht des Hr. Hallbeck.

⁵⁹⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

⁶⁰⁾ P. Accs. No. 399, 1885: Diary G., Jul., 1884 - Jul., 1885.

⁶¹⁾ Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 329.

⁶²⁾ Lady Duff Gordon, p. 106.

⁶³⁾ Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 330.

⁶⁴⁾ P. Accs. No. 22. 1895.

⁶⁵⁾ *ibid.*, CXI, 1826: Hallbeck, G., 19th Dec., 1825; *ibid.*, CCXXI, 1866: W.F. Bechler, G., 9th Mch., 1866; H. G. Schneider G., p. 152-6. Expenses paid by Mission Directory:

1793-3 6255 Rds.

1799 7621 Rds. (Building of church.)

1808 the task of making Genadendal financially independent was judged to be impossible. The only income from the station had been the 300-400 Rds. from Kühnelt's knives.⁶⁶⁾ In 1820, however, when the expenses of the 'missionary family' amounted to 6,000 Rds. or £500 the deficit was only £19.⁶⁷⁾ Genadendal reports a surplus in 1834 only, but it is a fairly large sum of £400 and it covered all the deficits in the Western Province in that year.⁶⁸⁾ In 1865, when the Berea church was erected the station definitely needed outside financial aid.⁶⁹⁾ In 1882 the Western Province stations had again been financially independent for a number of years,⁷⁰⁾ but the 1880ies brought depression to the Cape and the Western Province stations were not self-supporting again till 1890.⁷¹⁾ This 'financial independence' refers only to current expenditure.⁷²⁾

To judge the standard of living at Genadendal the following fact should be considered. The village grew haphazardly, mainly on the sides of the valley⁷³⁾ so that the lower lying valuable irrigable garden land could be reserved for cultivation.⁷⁴⁾ It differs in this respect from its sister stations at Anon⁷⁵⁾ and Elim. Lichtenstein described the village as follows:

"Zweihundert Häuser und Hütten mit daran stossenden kleinen Gärten, in ordentliche Strassen vertheilt, gaben diesem Ort vollkommen das Ansehen eines europäischen Dorfes..."⁷⁶⁾

A description of the village at the end of the century shows that it had changed little:

66) Theal, Records, vi, p. 347.

67) Miss. Reg. Jan., 1821: Survey of Protestant Missions.

68) P. Accs. CXLVIII, 1835: Hallbeck, G., May, 1835.

69) Ibid., CCLXXI, 1866: W.F. Bechler, 9th Mo., 1866.

70) Ibid., No. 335, 1882: Retrospect of Moravian Missions in the last 150 years.

71) Ibid., No. 4, 1890: The Western Province.

72) Ibid., No. 6, 1891: Appeal on behalf of the new church, A.G. Hettasch.

73) C.I. Latrobe, p. 94.

74) P. Accs. CCLXI, 1863: Description of G., - Rev. J. Murray.

75) Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 329.

76) H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 246-7. (The two hundred houses and huts with the adjoining small garden plots, divided neatly into streets, gave the place the atmosphere of a European village.)

"The village, with its fruitful gardens, wonderfully beautiful just now in their fresh young verdure, adjoins the missionary quarter, and fills the basin of the valley in every direction. Genadendal has three thousand inhabitants, and is divided into several sections, Sevenfontein, Klipperstrasse, Vlei, Bergstrasse and Kornlandskloof....⁷⁷⁾

The number of houses at Baviaanskloof in 1799 was 228, these were probably huts.⁷⁸⁾ Latrobe counted 256 "cottages and huts."⁷⁹⁾ In 1820 there are 288 houses and 90 of these are walled.⁸⁰⁾ During the critical years^{of 1822} and after the numbers of dwellings decreased appreciably. In that year there were only 246 houses of which 85 were walled.⁸¹⁾ This tendency continued till 1826, when there were only 219 houses in the village.⁸²⁾ After that, however, there was a gradual increase⁸³⁾ until in 1833 there are again 253 dwellings of which 117 are walled.⁸⁴⁾ The emancipation of the slaves had an effect on the number of houses in the village. In 1847 there were 260 larger and smaller houses and 217 huts.⁸⁵⁾ There was no great increase after this and in 1875 a government census showed that there were 482 houses.⁸⁶⁾

There were thus two types of houses in the village. In 1798 they were described as follows:

"The huts were of clay, thatched with rushes, some square as in Ireland, others round in the original Hottentot fashion, and brought up to the top without rushes, a hole only being left in the middle to serve as a vent, and another for the door."⁸⁷⁾

The huts were built in the native manner by driving poles into the ground in a circle, twelve feet in diameter, bending them and tying them at the top so that the centre of the framework was five feet from the ground. This structure was covered with matting and skins and it was necessary to

77) P. Accs. No. 13, 1893: Visitation by Br. Buchner 1892-3.

78) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Jul., 1799 - Jan., 1800.

79) C.I. Latrobe, p. 92.

80) Nchr. 3. 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai, 1821.

81) *ibid.*, 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

82) *ibid.*, 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

83) *ibid.*, 5. 1829: Ber. G., 1827; *ibid.*, 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828; *ibid.*, 3. 1833: Ber. G., 1830; *ibid.*, 1. 1834: Ber. G., 1831.

84) Exs. P. Accs. Diary G., 1833.

85) Nchr. 2. 1849: Ber. G., 1847.

86) P. Accs. No. 308, 1875: Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1875.

87) Lady Anne Barnard, p. 185.

creep into the hole left on the one side.⁸⁸⁾ Most of the walled houses were probably built in the following manner. Clay was broken up with plough and harrow. The material won in this way was drawn to the building site by oxen in a bullock's hide. The clay was then formed into bricks and the wall built a foot high on the first day after which it had to be left to dry for a day. The wall was gradually raised until the roof could be put on. In some cases the gable ends were built with burnt bricks.⁸⁹⁾ The cottages were usually divided into two apartments, one for cooking and sleeping and the other for storing field and garden products.⁹⁰⁾ Some of the houses were not very well built and in some cases collapsed, injuring the inmates.⁹¹⁾ The building of solid houses was subsidized by the mission from money received in the difficult years of 1822-3. Nevertheless many of the houses were still of rushes and clay in 1842.⁹²⁾ The subsidizing of houses was continued till 1853 when the money was appropriated for schools and churches.⁹³⁾

Some of the better off residents had fairly respectable houses. Lichtenstein says that the chapel-servants, usually the most well to do, had houses very similar to those of the colonists on the border.⁹⁴⁾ Lady Duff Gordon lived in such a house in 1862:

"The cottage was thus:- One large hall; my bedroom on the right, Sally's (her English maid) on the left; the kitchen behind me; Miss Reitz behind Sally; mud floors daintily washed over with fresh cow-dung; ceiling of big rafters just as they had grown, on which rested bamboo canes close together a c r o s s the rafters, and bound together between each with transverse bamboo - a pretty b e e h i v e effect; at top, mud again, and then a high thatched roof and a loft or solder for forage, &c., the walls of course mud, very thick and white washed."⁹⁵⁾

In 1873 a house was built by one of the inhabitants which cost £100 and for which the owner paid cash!⁹⁶⁾ But these were exceptions.

88) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

89) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

90) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1799.

91) P. Accs. LXI: Diary G., Mch., - Jul., 1810.

92) Mchr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

93) P. Accs. CCXX, 1853: C.R. Kölbinger, G., 12th Jun., 1853.

94) H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 252.

95) Lady Duff Gordon p. 102-3.

96) Mchr. 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

The mud houses sometimes did not stand up to heavy rain as in April, 1878.

"Trübselig sah es nach diesem Regen in den Häusern aus, deren Dächer in schlechtem Zustand waren. In mehreren derselben war kein trocknes Plätzchen zu finden; ganze Familien hatten diese Nacht nicht viel besser, denn in Freien zugebracht. Gar kläglich hatten es die Kranken, die in solchen Häusern lagen. Besonders traurig sah es aus in dem Häuschen von Benjamin und Rosalie January. Dasselbe ist kaum hoch genug, um darin stehen zu können; ein schrecklicher Geruch drang den Eintretenden entgegen; der Fußboden war ein Sumpf." ⁹⁷⁾

Lady Anne Barnard tells us what the inside of the simpler Hottentot huts looked like.

"I entered one or two of the round ones, - the Hottentots were out, working in the field; furniture there was none, a few sticks were in the centre to boil their kettle, and tied to the sticks of the roof were a few skins, some calabashes, an iron pot, a couple of spoons made of bits of wood, to the end of which a deep shell was spliced and tied on, some calabash ladles and bowls." ⁹⁸⁾

The fireplaces were open and raised a foot above the ground. In the evening the inhabitants of the dwelling sat on the raised fire place feeding the fire with twigs. As a result children often fell in and were burned, sometimes even to death. ⁹⁹⁾

In 1862, the cottages were described thus:

"All were neat and clean, with good dressers of crockery; the v e r y poorest, like the worst in Weybridge sandpits; but they had no glass windows, only a wooden shutter, and no doors; a calico curtain, or a sort of hurdle supplying its place." ¹⁰⁰⁾

The general impression the houses made on a visitor in 1892 is not much different:

"The houses of the natives ... have mud walls.

Mother Earth also constitutes the floor. Though they are all of the same primitive material, and but one storey in height, one sees great variety, for example, in the number, size and form of the windows. Some indeed have no windows whatever,

⁹⁷⁾ Nchr. 5. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878. (It was miserable after this rain in those houses with defective roofs. In many of them there was not a dry place to be found; whole families passed the night not much better than if they had been out in the open. The sick in such houses were in a sorrowful condition. It was especially bad in the hut of Benjamin and Rosalie January. It is hardly high enough to stand upright; a terrible stench meets the visitor; the floor was a morass.)

⁹⁸⁾ Lady Anne Barnard p. 185.

⁹⁹⁾ Nchr. 5. 1852: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1851.

¹⁰⁰⁾ Lady Duff Gordon, p. 103.

but receive air and light only through the door. ... Their dwellings consist of one living room, one sleeping room and a kitchen; most of them are kept neat, and furnished with tables and clean beds."¹⁰¹⁾

When the missionaries arrived the Hottentots were clothed in sheepskins. One small skin was worn around the waist while another, which was discarded for work, was draped over the shoulders. Their children were carried on the backs of the mothers under the cover of a sheepskin held up by a thong. Both sexes carried bags made of gazelle skins for tobacco-pipe, flint and steel. There was vermin in the sheepskin clothing of the Hottentots. The only way they knew to get rid of it was to beat the skins with sticks. The missionaries tried to promote cleanliness among their charges.¹⁰²⁾ They continued to wear their sheepskins on weekdays, but soon they began to wear clothes they received from the farmer's wives in lieu of payment on Sundays.¹⁰³⁾ Thus when in 1798 Lady Anne Barnard attended an evening service on a week-day, the congregation were all "dressed in the skins of animals."¹⁰⁴⁾ On a Sunday about half of the three hundred people in the congregation were dressed "in coarse printed cottons, and the other half in sheep-skin dresses,..."¹⁰⁵⁾ Lichtenstein noticed that the well to do wore European dress whilst the poorer class still wore skins;

"Sie gehen nach Bauernart in leinernen Wämsern und ledernen Beinkleidern und tragen Hüte, die Frauen in wollenen Röcken, baumwollenen Camisolen mit langen Ärmeln und Hauben. Die niedrigere, rohere Klasse kleidet sich zwar noch in Felle, doch wird durchaus auf Reinlichkeit gehalten und keine Nacktheit geduldet."¹⁰⁶⁾

In Latrobe's time some men were still clothed in karosses and leather aprons. Most of the residents wore European dress for the Sunday services and even dressed their children in linen and calico shirts and dresses.¹⁰⁷⁾ In 1842 the

¹⁰¹⁾ P. Accs. No. 13, 1893: Visitation by Br. Buchner 1892-3

¹⁰²⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

¹⁰³⁾ *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1795.

¹⁰⁴⁾ Lady Anne Barnard, p. 180.

¹⁰⁵⁾ J. Barrow, I, p. 310.

¹⁰⁶⁾ E. Lichtenstein, I, p. 252. (They dress after the 'peasant' fashion in linen jackets and leather trousers and carry hats, the women go in woollen skirts, and cotton blouses with long sleeves and bonnets. The lower, more primitive class still wear skins, but cleanliness is expected of them and no nakedness is permitted.)

¹⁰⁷⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 93-4.

Brethren themselves complain that the boys often wore nothing but a shirt or a pair of trousers, the girls only a dress of cotton and they blame the inhabitants' lack of thrift for this.¹⁰⁸⁾ In 1862 Lady Duff Gordon was impressed with the smartness of dress of the congregation and she praises the cleanliness of the residents.

"Also they are very clean people, addicted to tubbing more than any others. ... They are also far cleaner in their huts than any but the v e r y b e s t English poor."¹⁰⁹⁾

The efforts of the Brethren to teach their wards cleanliness had thus had a measure of success.

Buchner was surprised at the number of people at Genadendal who suffered from lung and bronchial diseases. He ascribed the frequency of this affliction to their irregular habits of living.¹¹⁰⁾ Presumably a great number were affected by tuberculosis.¹¹¹⁾ Genadendal was a haven for lepers as late as 1861.¹¹²⁾ The village was occasionally ravaged by epidemics and a disease, apparently typhoid fever caused the death of 162 Hottentots in 1800.¹¹³⁾ From 1865 to 1867 the same disease returned. It had a disastrous effect on the income of the village as farmers would not employ labourers from Genadendal for fear of infection.¹¹⁴⁾ The first severe outbreak of small-pox in the settlement was in 1858.¹¹⁵⁾ In spite of the efforts of Brother Roser, who had 3,000 inhabitants vaccinated in the course of a few days,¹¹⁶⁾ there were 29 cases of whom 10 were fatal.¹¹⁷⁾ There was a second outbreak of this disease in 1882 when the 'Drummond Castle' brought the infection to the Cape. There were 235 cases of whom 64 died. The missionaries had to organize relief. Some colonists sent help, five sent

¹⁰⁸⁾ Nchr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

¹⁰⁹⁾ Lady Duff Gordon, p. 104-5.

¹¹⁰⁾ P. Accs. No. 13, 1893: Visitation of Br. Buchner 1892-3

¹¹¹⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1799; P. Accs. CCXXIII, 1854: D.W. Suhl, G., 21st Dec., 1853; Nchr. 1. 1831; Ber. G., 1828.

¹¹²⁾ Nchr. 11. & 12. 1862: Ber. G., 1861; *ibid.*, 3. 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai, 1821; *ibid.*, 6. 1820: Ber. G., Okt. - Dez., 1818.

¹¹³⁾ Exs. P. Accs. C.L. Rose, 24th Aug., 1800; Nchr. 3. 1837: Bericht von Br. Hallbeck.

¹¹⁴⁾ Nchr. 6. 1867: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1865; *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866; *ibid.*, 2. 1869: Ber. G., 1867.

¹¹⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 5. 1860; Ber. G., Aug. - Dez., 1858.

¹¹⁶⁾ P. Accs. CCXLIII, 1859: Roser, G., 12th Nov., 1858.

¹¹⁷⁾ *ibid.*, CCXLIV, 1859: C.R. K3lbing, G., 19th May, 1859.

money and one²/₄ wagon load of fish. A member of the Upper House persuaded the government to place the sum of £70 at the disposal of the missionaries.¹¹⁸⁾ Shortly before Genadendal had suffered from an attack of epidemic dysentery which started in 1880¹¹⁹⁾ and raged throughout 1881.¹²⁰⁾ The village also experienced epidemics of whooping-cough and measles. The missionaries blamed the careless nursing of the children by their parents as the cause of many ~~rather~~ deaths.¹²¹⁾

In good years the diet of the inhabitants of Genadendal was fairly balanced. The staple food was wheat as is evident from the anxiety with which the missionaries followed the price of corn.¹²²⁾ In 1818 Hallbeck calculated the consumption of a thrifty family with two non-earning children. He found that their weekly average consumption was one 'emmer' (56½ litres) of wheat, 4 lbs. meat, 3-4 lbs. rice, and 2-3 lbs mutton fat besides the vegetables that they produced in their garden.¹²³⁾ In a good fruit season Genadendal had an abundance of deciduous and citrus fruit.¹²⁴⁾ The inhabitants were, however, not at a loss when the harvest of wheat was bad. They fell back on 'veldkos' and gathered edible bulbs.¹²⁵⁾ In 1801 during a famine the inhabitants of the village had to fall back on acorns and roots for subsistence.¹²⁶⁾ There were also wild almonds which when cooked were nourishing. In the difficult 1820ies these were an important part of the diet of the villagers.¹²⁷⁾ When hard pressed the inhabitants of Genadendal migrated to the coast where they could subsist on fish.¹²⁸⁾

A large amount of the food supply of the Hottentots

118) Nchr. 10. 1883: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1882.

119) *ibid.*, 7. 1881: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1880; *ibid.*, 8. 1881: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1880.

120) Nchr. Nov., 1882: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1881.

121) *ibid.*, 5. 1857: Ber. G., 1855; *ibid.*, 1. 1862: Ber. G., 1860.

122) e.g. P. Accs. CCLXXVI, 1867: Diary Berea, Jul. - Dec., 1866.

123) CO 102, Answers to Queries by H.P. Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

124) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 103.

125) CO 102, Answers to Queries by H.P. Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

126) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1801.

127) Nchr. 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

128) *ibid.*, (as note 127); *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

came from the gardens and arable land of the settlement, especially after they had learnt the rudiments of agriculture from the Brethren. From the very earliest beginnings, however, there was a certain amount of migratory labour, especially during the harvest season. As the population increased and the demand for clothing and other commodities grew the proportion of people, especially men, who earned their living outside the settlement increased.

The labourers from Genadendal enjoyed a very good reputation for diligence and industriousness among the European population.¹²⁹⁾ In 1798 the Brethren claimed that the farmers preferred to employ Christian Hottentots from Genadendal.¹³⁰⁾ A certain section of the farmers no longer thought so in 1856.¹³¹⁾

The labourers from the institution probably merited the reputation they enjoyed. Hallbeck was of the opinion that the converts of other societies were probably as diligent.¹³²⁾ Another reason for their dependability was that the Genadendalers hailed from a more settled community than existed on stations nearer to the border of the Colony. The section of the Cape where it was situated was tranquil.

The men who left Genadendal to seek work found employment mainly as agricultural labourers until after the discovery of diamonds in the Kimberley area in 1869.

In 1797 Barrow stated that "some hire themselves out by the week, month, or year, to the neighbouring peasantry."¹³³⁾ Soon there was a regular exodus during the ploughing and harvest months.¹³⁴⁾ The missionaries realised that the Hottentots were forced to leave the settlement in order to earn a living, but they were of the opinion that with a little more diligence they could have subsisted on the land at the institution.¹³⁵⁾ During the ploughing season mainly men went out to work.¹³⁶⁾ In April, 1825 out of 1242 inhabitants only 923 were present, but of the 320 persons absent half were

¹²⁹⁾ Theal, Records, ix, p. 74ff.

¹³⁰⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Kohnhammer to Secretary of the Society, G., 1st Jul., 1798.

¹³¹⁾ C. of G. H. Interrogation of farmers. 1856.

¹³²⁾ Select Committee Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

¹³³⁾ J. Barrow, I, p. 309-10.

¹³⁴⁾ Theal Records, ix, p. 74ff.

¹³⁵⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Ekkl. Nov. - Dec., 1801; *ibid.*, Journal Ekkl. May, 1803 - Nov. 1804.

¹³⁶⁾ Nchr. 6. 1848: Ber. G., 1846.

¹³⁷⁾ *ibid.*, I. 1828: Ber. G., 1825.

¹³⁸⁾ *ibid.*, I. 1848: Ber. G., 1846; *ibid.*, II. & 12. 1862:

away for the ploughing season only.¹³⁷⁾ At harvest increasingly large numbers of both sexes and all ages left the village leaving behind only those who had to take care of the gardens. The harvesting usually began in November but sometimes already in October.¹³⁸⁾ The labourers returned in the beginning of January. The schools and classes for instruction were normally resumed in the second week of January.¹³⁹⁾ Difficult times caused an increase in the number of absentee labourers. They also increased the length of time they stayed away as then they went to more distant parts.¹⁴⁰⁾ Bad harvests affected the labourers in a two-fold way: their own gardens produced little and the amount of work they were able to get outside the settlement was reduced.¹⁴¹⁾

Before 1828 the Genadendalers must have been in a better position to bargain for wages than the Hottentots who lived on the farms.¹⁴²⁾ In 1823 labourers on the farms received 14d. a day,¹⁴³⁾ and in 1843 they received one Ryksdaler or 15d. They received besides meat three times a day and wine five times a day.¹⁴⁴⁾ Some of the labourers, however, were in debt to the colonists and had to work off their debt throughout one season.¹⁴⁵⁾ In some cases wine was given instead of money.¹⁴⁶⁾ After 1869 the wages ~~by~~ paid by mines and in the railways proved more attractive than those paid by farmers.¹⁴⁷⁾

After 1870, other factors aggravated the situation. Agricultural machinery was being introduced into the Western Cape. This meant less work on the farms.¹⁴⁸⁾ Besides, farm work did not afford a steady income right through the year.¹⁴⁹⁾

¹³⁷⁾ Nchr. 1. 1828: Ber. G., 1825.

¹³⁸⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1846; *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1862: Ber. G., 1861.

¹³⁹⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1821: Ber. G., Jan. - März, 1819.

¹⁴⁰⁾ Miss. Reg. Apr., 1823: Diary G., 1822.

¹⁴¹⁾ Nchr. 6. 1821: Ber. G., Jan. - März, 1819.

¹⁴²⁾ J.S. Marais, p. 152-3.

¹⁴³⁾ Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 330.

¹⁴⁴⁾ Nchr. 1. 1846: Ber. G., 1843.

¹⁴⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 2. 1840: Ber. G., 1837.

¹⁴⁶⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1888: Ber. G., 1886.

¹⁴⁷⁾ *ibid.*, 4. 1894: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1892.

¹⁴⁸⁾ F. Accs. No. 349, 1885: Diary G., Jul., 1884 - Jul., 1885; Nchr. 1. 1888: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1886.

¹⁴⁹⁾ Nchr. 4. 1894: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1892.

When, as in the 1880ies, little work could be had on the railways, Genadendal suffered. There was an arrear in tax of about 5,000 Marks (£250) in that year.¹⁵⁰⁾

The first example of non-agricultural work outside Genadendal was found by the young men on the road to Grahamstown in 1845. They received a Ryksdaler (1/6) a day plus food,¹⁵¹⁾ Perhaps the soldiers might be classified as migratory labour, although they did not always get regularly paid. It was different with the wagon drivers in 1880-1 who worked for remuneration only.¹⁵²⁾

The discovery of diamonds in the Kimberley area opened up new opportunities for work outside Genadendal. Already in 1869 some young men left for the mines.¹⁵³⁾

The male population of Genadendal found a remunerative field of work when the railway from Wellington to the diamond fields was built from 1873 onwards.¹⁵⁴⁾ In 1876 there were as many as 400 labourers working on the line beyond Worcester. They earned from 2 to 5 shillings a day.¹⁵⁵⁾ The missionaries estimated that until the railway had reached Beaufort West, when a number of the villagers were discharged, about £1,000 reached Genadendal annually from the railways. Of course not all the money the labourers earned was sent to the village.¹⁵⁶⁾ Conditions along the line were in some cases terrible. Some of the contractors who employed Genadendalers exploited them ruthlessly with the result that some labourers did not have the money to pay for the return journey from Beaufort West to Genadendal. They had to walk back a distance of 500 miles!¹⁵⁷⁾

As the line advanced into the interior it became increasingly difficult for men from Genadendal to find work on the railway. The exodus to the towns, especially Cape Town increased correspondingly. There were sufficient people in Cape Town for the erection of the Moravian church in 1886.¹⁵⁸⁾

¹⁵⁰⁾ Nchr. 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1886.

¹⁵¹⁾ P. Accs. CXCV, 1847: Diary G., 1845; Nchr. 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

¹⁵²⁾ Nchr. März 1882: Ber. G., Jan - Jun., 1881.

¹⁵³⁾ *ibid.*, 4. 1873: Ber. G., 1871.

¹⁵⁴⁾ *ibid.*, 9. 1874: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun. 1873.

¹⁵⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1877: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1876.

¹⁵⁶⁾ *ibid.*, 7. 1881: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1880.

¹⁵⁷⁾ *ibid.*, 3. 1885: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1883; *ibid.*, 5. 1885: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1884.

¹⁵⁸⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1888: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1886.

After that year the number of people going to Cape Town increased.¹⁵⁹⁾

This, as has been pointed out, affected the ratio of men to women in the latter's favour. In 1826 at the festival for married couples 99 pairs took part, three single men (whose wives were absent) and 40 single women (whose husbands were absent).¹⁶⁰⁾ In 1880 the number of men absent had increased and the ratio of men to women among the communicants on the 25th January, was one to two. It is significant that most of the harvest workers had returned by this date.¹⁶¹⁾ In the later 1880ies, however, women began to leave the village in increasing numbers to seek work.¹⁶²⁾

When the Brethren arrived at Baviaanskloof in 1792 the Hottentots were essentially cattle herding nomads. The missionaries were of the opinion that they would have to be taught agriculture. This was probably a realistic policy as the Hottentots were increasingly losing land in which they could move around with their herds.

There were many difficulties in the way of teaching the Hottentots agriculture and a settled life. It was difficult to procure sufficient tools. These could only be had in Cape Town and there only at exorbitant prices. The missionaries lent out tools to the Hottentots. Some of these had been acquired from men like Martin Schmidt, their host in Cape Town, who presented them with 50 spades.¹⁶³⁾ However, by 1799 the Brethren had had some success. Peter Blessier reaped 25 bushels of wheat for every one he sowed. Most of the others reaped wheat twentyfold that year, and the harvest of maize and vegetables was plentiful. Imitating the missionaries they planted fruit trees and vegetables such as beans, carrots, and potatoes. The missionaries taught them to discard their aversion for pork. They were beginning to keep pigs by 1799 and these provided them with more fat and more meat than their sheep. In spite of this the missionaries complain that "A lazy heathen nation is not soon trained to industry." Yet they are pleased that only a few lived on 'veldkos' and that most have accepted the idea of earning something with the work of their hands.¹⁶⁴⁾ The Brethren

¹⁵⁹⁾ Henr. 3. 1889: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1888.

¹⁶⁰⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

¹⁶¹⁾ *ibid.*, 7. 1881: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1880.

¹⁶²⁾ *ibid.*, 3. 1889: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1888.

¹⁶³⁾ Exs. P. Acca. Journal Bklf. Jul., 1799 - Jan., 1800.

¹⁶⁴⁾ *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Jan. - Jun., 1799.

helped them in preparing the land when they could. The fruitful land which reverted to the mission in 1802 was ditched by the Hottentots themselves. The missionaries organised the communal work and provided the workers with food.¹⁶⁵⁾ The Hottentots then had sufficient land for gardens and fields for wheat or maize.¹⁶⁶⁾

Visitors to Baviaanskloof were unanimous in recording the success of the Brethren in teaching their charges the rudiments of agriculture. Lady Anne Barnard noticed that the small gardens of the Hottentots "were not very neat, but each one had something growing in it."¹⁶⁷⁾ Lichtenstein describes the agricultural system on the station as follows:

"Eine jede der Hottentotten Familien hat ausser dem Garten hinter dem Hause, in welchem sie zur Anpflanzung von Gemüse und Obstbäumen angewiesen werden, einen gewissen Antheil an den fruchtbaren Ländereien dieser Niederung, dessen Grösse sich nach der Anzahl Personen bestimmt die davon ernährt werden sollen. Eine jede muss diesen Acker nach Anweisung der Väter selbst bestellen und erhält Vorschub an Ackergeräth und Saatkorn. Der Fleissige wird durch einen Zuwachs seines Gebietes belohnt, dem Nachlässigen ein Theil davon wiederum entzogen."¹⁶⁸⁾

The way in which the missionaries inculcated industriousness was by rewarding the diligent with an increase in land and punishing the indolent by a diminution of their lots.¹⁶⁹⁾

This procedure was incorporated in the Rules and Regulations of the place¹⁷⁰⁾ and was still enforced in 1896.¹⁷¹⁾

Agriculture was practiced in two forms at Genadendal. There were the gardens in the valley of the Baviaanskloof river, and the wheat fields in the valley of the Sonderend River. If a garden was in good order the owner was reliable.¹⁷²⁾

¹⁶⁵⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Apr. - Jun., 1802.

¹⁶⁶⁾ *ibid.*, Reports on Baviaanskloof, Feb., 1803.

¹⁶⁷⁾ Lady Anne Barnard, p. 184.

¹⁶⁸⁾ H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 252; (Every Hottentot family has, besides the garden behind the house, in which they are instructed to plant vegetables and fruit-trees, a certain portion of the fertile arable land in this valley, the size of which is determined by the number of people who are to be fed from it. Every family must work this field under the instruction of the Fathers and receives assistance with implements and seedcorn. The diligent are rewarded with an increase of their land, while the indolent lose parts of it.)

¹⁶⁹⁾ CO 102, Answers to Queries, Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

¹⁷⁰⁾ See Appendix A, II, 4, 10.

¹⁷¹⁾ P. Accs. No. 27. 1896: A Moravian Settlement - E. Jacob.

¹⁷²⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 93.

According to Hallbeck people who lived on the produce of their gardens, fields and livestock had the best houses and were in the best circumstances.¹⁷³⁾ This was no longer the case towards the end of the period under discussion. But Buchner was of the opinion that the gardens could, if properly worked produce enough for the inhabitants to have food and to make them able to exchange the excess for other necessities of life.¹⁷⁴⁾

The main crops in the gardens were beans, and potatoes. In the beginning maize likewise was cultivated in the gardens.¹⁷⁵⁾ The orchards contained peach, pear, apricot and apple trees, as well as orange trees.¹⁷⁶⁾ In January the fruit harvest was usually in full swing and the inhabitants were busy drying their fruit on racks in front of their houses. The fruit crop was usually so abundant at harvest time that the inhabitants subsisted almost exclusively on it. Only the more well-to-do supplemented their diet with fish.¹⁷⁷⁾ The accounts give crop figures for two years, presumably average years.

	1864 - 1865	1874 ¹⁷⁸⁾
Beans:.....	167 Muids.	
or:.....	501 Bushels.	521 Bushels.
potatoes:.....	50 Muids.	
or:.....	150 Bushels.	300 Bushels.
dried fruit:...	260 Muids.	
or:...	780 Bushels.	19670 lbs.
tobacco:.....	170 lbs.	45 lbs.

To make the gardens sufficiently productive they had to be irrigated. As we have seen the missionaries irrigated their garden from the very beginning. The method was extended to the Hottentot gardens later on. In 1822 the diary remarks that by the distribution of water from the mill course the gardens had become very productive.¹⁷⁹⁾ When rust attacked the wheat in 1826 the irrigation system was improved by building three dams. The work on these dams was paid for by the Mission Directory.¹⁸⁰⁾ In 1834 a suggestion made by the missionaries to pay one shilling annually for the repair of the water furrows was accepted.¹⁸¹⁾ In 1861 a dam 20 feet long,

¹⁷³⁾ Select Committee Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

¹⁷⁴⁾ P. Accs. No. 13, 1893: Visitation of Br. Buchner, 1892-3.

¹⁷⁵⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 133.

¹⁷⁶⁾ P. Accs. CCXXIII, 1854: J.C. Breutel to Mission Board. (no date).

¹⁷⁷⁾ Mchr. 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

¹⁷⁸⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1866: Ber. G., 1865; *ibid.*, 3. 1875: Ber. G., 1874. 3 bushels = 1 muid; 1 bushel = 36.3 litres.

¹⁷⁹⁾ Miss. Reg. April 1823: Diary G., 1822.

¹⁸⁰⁾ Mchr. 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dec., 1826.

six feet high and four feet wide was erected for the purpose of irrigation.¹⁸²⁾ In the end the whole village was reticulated with irrigation furrows running to the gardens.¹⁸³⁾

If the gardens had in this manner been protected against droughts, it was much more difficult to protect them against rain and floods. In 1831 and 1839 for instance, floods damaged the gardens and destroyed part of the irrigation dams and furrows.¹⁸⁴⁾ Damage to the irrigation system was always repaired by collective labour.¹⁸⁵⁾ When the crops in the gardens and fields failed, Genadendal had an extremely difficult year. This happened in 1822 when the wheat crop failed and the gardens were inundated.¹⁸⁶⁾ In 1880 the drought even affected the gardens.¹⁸⁷⁾

The whole family was usually engaged in garden work.¹⁸⁸⁾ As in more primitive societies a system of work parties was used. Five or six garden owners would concentrate their efforts on one garden, the owner of that garden providing both food and wine on the days the party worked for him. Then it moved on to the next garden. No wages were paid, the system worked on a basis of reciprocity.¹⁸⁹⁾

In the 1820ies about 130 lots of arable land were allotted to inhabitants. Except in bad years over 100 were used each year. In 1820 it was felt that there was too little arable land available. Consequently one of the villagers rented a considerable piece of ground from a neighbouring farmer large enough for the sowing of 15 muids (sacks) of wheat.¹⁹¹⁾ The lack of arable land is illustrated by the fact that in 1864 only 127 persons worked arable land while 495 persons owned gardens.¹⁹²⁾

They learned ploughing from the Brethren. In July, 1820

181) Nchr. 6. 1836: Ber. G., 1834.

182) P. Accs. COLIII, 1861: F.W. Kuhn, G., 18th Jun., 1861.

183) Ibid., 4. 1890: Son of Dr. Drury, 29th May, 1890.

184) Nchr. 3. 1834: Ber. G., 1831; Ibid., 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839.

185) Ibid., 3. 1838: Ber. G., 1835; Ibid., 1. 1843: Ber. G., 1840.

186) P. Accs. Moravian Missions &c. Hallbeck, G., 26th Aug., 1822.

187) Nchr. 7. 1881: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1880.

188) CO 102 Answers to Queries, Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

189) Nchr. 11. 1877: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1876.

190) Ibid., 5. 1823: Ber. G., Okt., 1821 - Mai 1822.

191) Miss. Reg. Apr., 1821: Hallbeck, G., Jul., Aug., 1820.

192) Nchr. 6. 1866: Ber. G., 1865.

Hallbeck saw seventeen ploughs in action. Presumably the tenants of fields co-operated in ploughing.¹⁹³⁾ The ploughs manufactured in the smithy were suited to conditions at the Cape where an imported cast iron plough was difficult to repair.¹⁹⁴⁾ The missionaries also taught the use of manure. Gradually the Hottentots learned to put these lessons into practice.

"There is a want of manure, and therefore, the land must be left to rest after two or three years' culture. The Hottentots have, however, endeavoured to remedy the evil, by putting straw into the beast-kraal, and otherwise taking better care to collect manure, to which, in former times, they could never be brought to attend."¹⁹⁵⁾

By these methods the inhabitants were able to produce sufficient cereal crops. In 1824 a villager who had sown half a muid harvested 35 muids (sacks).¹⁹⁶⁾ In 1828 when the government provided seed corn because the crops had failed the previous year, the inhabitants gained 113 muid from 15 muid of seed corn.¹⁹⁷⁾ The detailed returns for the years 1864 and 1874 are given below.

	1864 - 1865	1874
Wheat:.....	339 Muid (sacks)	
or:.....	1017 Bushels.	916 Bushels.
maize:.....	337 Muid.	
or:.....	1011 Bushels.	838 Bushels.
Barley:.....	76 Muid.	-
rye:.....	53 Muid.	-
Oats:.....	3 Muid.	-

1818 to 1828 was the most disastrous decade for agriculture at Genadendal. The harvest in 1818 had been bad, and the price of corn very high.¹⁹⁹⁾ The harvest was attacked by rust and although the losses were not in 1819 brought some relief.²⁰⁰⁾ The 1820 harvest at Genadendal was attacked by rust and although the losses were not as great as in other parts of the Colony, the price of corn affected the economy of Genadendal detrimentally.²⁰¹⁾ The missionaries had to

¹⁹³⁾ Miss. Reg. Apr., 1821: Hallbeck, G., Jul., 1820.

¹⁹⁴⁾ F. Acon. CXCVIII, 1848: E.R. Esling, G., 26th Oc., 1847.

¹⁹⁵⁾ Miss. Reg. Apr., 1821: Hallbeck, G., Sept., 1820.

¹⁹⁶⁾ Nchr. 1, 1826: Ber. G., 1824.

¹⁹⁷⁾ ibid., 1, 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

¹⁹⁸⁾ ibid., 6, 1866: ~~1865~~ Ber. G., 1865; ibid., 3, 1875: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1874.

¹⁹⁹⁾ ibid., 6, 1819: Ber. G., Jan. - Sept., 1818.

²⁰⁰⁾ Miss. Reg. Oct., 1820: Diary G., Jan. - Jul., 1819.

²⁰¹⁾ Nchr. 3, 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai, 1821.

provide corn at low prices for the 1821 ploughing season.²⁰²⁾ In that year the effect of both drought and rust on the wheat in the whole of the Colony was disastrous. The missionaries feared a famine for Genadendal.²⁰³⁾ There was such a lack of provisions in 1822 that the Brethren had to use money received from the Mission Board to feed the destitute. They provided three meals a week for a month with this money, but otherwise the Coloureds were forced to eat grass! The flooding of the gardens in that year brought greater misery.²⁰⁴⁾ The famine became so bad that the government had to remit the taxes and granted 4,000 lbs. of rice and 15 bushels of seed corn for relief.²⁰⁵⁾ This seed corn was sown communally because the individual share was too small to make sowing pay. The harvest in 1822 happened to be fairly good and the price of corn decreased considerably.²⁰⁶⁾ A large sum of money was received as relief from friends overseas, especially from England. This was used to rehabilitate Genadendal. A certain amount was allocated for the purchase of more seed corn to provide the owners of fields with seed corn free of charge on condition that they returned an equal amount in the following year. Another sum was diverted to the smithy to enable it to repair ploughs free of charge. Bullocks were purchased to make ploughing possible for people who had lost draught cattle during the droughts and the famine.²⁰⁷⁾ Unfortunately in 1823 the wheat harvest was almost completely destroyed by rust.²⁰⁸⁾ In 1825 and 1826 rust again destroyed most of their crops.²⁰⁹⁾ After 1826 there was an improvement. The inhabitants had learnt to rely more on their vegetable gardens which were safe from the rust. In 1839 the crops in the 'saailande' were destroyed by rust again.²¹⁰⁾ To-day most of the 'saailande' have fallen into

²⁰²⁾ Nchr. 1. 1823: Ber. G., Apr. - Sept., 1821.

²⁰³⁾ *ibid.*, 5. 1823: Ber. G., Okt., 1821 - Mai, 1822.

²⁰⁴⁾ P. Accs. Moravian Missions &c. Hallbeck, 26th August, 1822. The Missionaries let the receivers of charity do some small task as for instance improving the irrigation furrows etc. before they were fed.

²⁰⁵⁾ Nchr. 5. 1823: Ber. G., Okt., 1821 - Mai, 1822.

²⁰⁶⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

²⁰⁷⁾ P. Accs. Moravian Mission &c. Hallbeck, 29th April, 1824, Nchr. 1. 1825: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1823.

²⁰⁸⁾ Nchr. 1. 1825: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1823.

²⁰⁹⁾ P. Accs. CK, 1826: Hallbeck, G., 16th Nov., 1825; Nchr. 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

²¹⁰⁾ Nchr. 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839.

disuse.²¹¹⁾

Most of the land pertaining to the institution was in fact unsuitable for agriculture and could not be improved with the means the missionaries had at their disposal.²¹²⁾ The Hottentots who resorted to Genadendal brought their cattle and their sheep with them and the land soon became overstocked.²¹³⁾ The pasturage, remaining undivided, was used communally. The missionaries tried to get the stock owners to contribute towards the wages of a cattle-herd in order that the children would not be used for that purpose and consequently miss school. But it became difficult to collect the necessary money.²¹⁴⁾

In spite of the difficulty of keeping cattle in the Cape Colony especially at Genadendal, Genadendalers had a fairly large number of cattle. One of the reasons was that the Coloureds as a matter of prestige liked to own a span of oxen.²¹⁵⁾

	1843	1865	1874 ²¹⁶⁾
Cattle:.....	287	495*	400
Horses:.....	64	67	23
Cape Sheep:....	(50)	11	-
Merinos:.....	-	2758	2531
Pigs:.....	150	818	321
Goats:.....	550	554	440.

*of these 230 were oxen.

The figures reveal that merino sheep were successfully introduced at Genadendal in the second half of the century. Genadendal's only real money product was in fact wool and the production figures for 1864-5 and 1874 are as follows:

1864-5.....2937 lbs.²¹⁷⁾
1875.....6596 lbs.

There can hardly have been any wool production before the 1850ies.

Genadendal was not a favourable environment for cattle or horses. Their numbers were often depleted by droughts, floods and pests. In 1822 the stock owners lost or had to

²¹¹⁾ Information from Rev. L.R. Schmidt.

²¹²⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 119-20.

²¹³⁾ Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 329.

²¹⁴⁾ Nehr. 2. 1847: Ber. G., 1844.

²¹⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1849: Ber. G., 1843.

²¹⁶⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1849: Ber. G., 1843; *ibid.*, 6. 1866: Ber. G., 1865; *ibid.*, 3. 1875: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1875.

²¹⁷⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1866: Ber. G., 1865; *ibid.*, 3. 1875: Ber. G., 1874

²¹⁸⁾

slaughter 200 out of 400 of their cattle.²¹⁸⁾ In 1828 it was again necessary to slaughter the weak animals because of the drought,²¹⁹⁾ and the conditions in 1860 affected stock owners in a similar manner.²²⁰⁾

In 1839 an epidemic caused Genadendal to lose a large number of horses.²²¹⁾ In 1854 a lung disease destroyed many cattle. In the following year a similar disease killed between 60 and 80 horses.²²²⁾ In the year 1877 a cattle disease destroying cattle raged in Genadendal while it was suffering under the effects of a drought.²²³⁾

The description of the Genadendal agricultural system is sufficient proof that the village could never have subsisted from the produce of its fields, gardens and livestock alone. Therefore, although there^{was} some private enterprises in the settlement, the missionaries gave employment to some in the workshops. The missionary households provided a certain amount of opportunities for work. Some servants faithfully served in homes and in the communal kitchen for periods of 25 to 30 years.²²⁴⁾ The main source of employment provided by the mission, however, were the trades set up to make the station self-supporting. These have already been mentioned in connection with the mission economy. They also played a part in the economy of the community. The cutlery, for instance, commenced in 1797, employed four men in 1802-3.²²⁵⁾ In 1816 the combined smithy and cutlery had fourteen workers.²²⁶⁾ Some were engaged in vending the knives among the colonists.²²⁷⁾ The tannery was commenced with the special purpose of providing an occupation for some of the Coloured families in the village.²²⁸⁾

Besides aiming at earning a profit for the mission and giving employment to the residents, the industries had as their third aim the training of individual tradesmen, especially during Hallbeck's period. Hallbeck writes that cut-

218) Hchr. 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

219) *ibid.*, 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

220) *ibid.*, 1. 1862: Ber. G., 1860.

221) *ibid.*, 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839.

222) *ibid.*, 5. 1857: Ber. G., 1855.

223) *ibid.*, 10. 1878: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1877.

224) Select Committee, Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

225) H. Lichtenstein, I. p. 249.

226) C.I. Latrobe, p. 396-7.

227) Exs. P. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 6th Oct., 1834.

228) Hchr. 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

lers, smiths, joiners, wheelwrights and shoemakers were 'trained' at Genadendal and that other tradesmen such as masons, carpenters, thatchers, sawyers were encouraged.²²⁹⁾ He also considered the teaching of writing and arithmetic essential in the school 'particularly ... for those who carry on trades on their own accounts.'²³⁰⁾ The main reason for failing to establish an independent class of artisans at Genadendal was that their products found no market. Genadendal produced wagons but not in sufficient numbers to compete with financially stronger undertakings. The village furthermore did not have a large enough population to support a great number of independent tradesmen. The influx of mass produced European goods during the later part of the century destroyed the opportunities for such independent crafts as had previously existed. There had been a few tailors in Genadendal but with the introduction of sewing machines in the 1870ies the women commenced sewing their own clothes.²³¹⁾

From the very beginning there were signs of persons who tried to make money independently by producing articles for sale even though they were only mats and brooms.²³²⁾ Hallbeck referred to wheelwrights, smiths, carpenters, masons in 1819 but he added that labourers were more useful to the institution.²³³⁾ The death of the sole shoemaker for the whole village is mentioned in 1826.²³⁴⁾ Coloured masons and carpenters were employed in the building of the Blim church in 1835.²³⁵⁾ The number of artisans was at its highest in the thirties and forties. In 1836, Hallbeck stated before the Select Committee on Aborigines:-

"At the station where I live (Genadendal) one-half the population subsists by working at mechanical arts, cutlers, smiths, joiners, tanners, masons, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors and so on."²³⁶⁾

Probably many tradesmen also owned gardens and even left the village to work for farmers during the harvest season.

After the middle of the century the number of tradesmen dropped. Occasional references to craftsmen appear in the accounts e.g. to the joiner who replaced the brick

²²⁹⁾ Papers Relative to Natives, 1835: Brief Sketch, 1823.

²³⁰⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 9th Aug., 1834.

²³¹⁾ Nehr. II. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

²³²⁾ J. Barrow, I, p. 309-10.

²³³⁾ CO 102 Answers to Queries - Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

²³⁴⁾ Nehr. 2. 1828: Ber. G., Jan. - März, 1826.

²³⁵⁾ P. Accs. CALIX, 1835: Hallbeck, G., Jul., 1835.

²³⁶⁾ Select Committee, Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

pillars in the church with wooden posts,²³⁷⁾ to the wheelwright, who lost his tools and workshop in a fire in 1848,²³⁸⁾ and to the tailor and the joiner to whom pupils of the Training School were apprenticed in 1885.²³⁹⁾ An Irishman set up in Genadendal as a shoemaker and gave the pupils instruction until he died in 1853.²⁴⁰⁾ In 1856 farmers who were interrogated before a parliamentary committee accused the institution of not training artisans and asserted that there were only one or two smiths in the village.²⁴¹⁾ Actually it is surprising that ~~two~~ smiths could exist beside the smithy of the Brethren. The crafts did not disappear completely. In 1892, when the new church was being erected, carpenters from the village superintended the woodwork.²⁴²⁾

The position as far as shopkeepers in the village were concerned was slightly different. The missionaries did not encourage them especially after they had had an unpleasant experience with a certain Negrini who had been allowed to keep an inn at Genadendal in 1799.²⁴³⁾ They did not prohibit them, however. Both Europeans and Coloureds are known to have carried on business in the village. In 1856 there were four independent retail traders in the village.²⁴⁴⁾ One of these was Christian Heitz²⁴⁵⁾ who later added a wine selling business to his shop and caused much of the trouble during the 1858 elections by opening his house to the election agents.²⁴⁶⁾ He later added an inn in which Lady Duff Gordon lived when she visited Genadendal.²⁴⁷⁾ The missionaries would not have had any objection to sober traders conscious of their responsibility toward the community. They were against traders who exercised a bad moral influence. In 1857 a European shop-keeper from Caledon opened business, but he closed it down again when his clerk defrauded him of £90.²⁴⁸⁾

²³⁷⁾ P. Accs. CXCVI, 1847: G.L. Teutsch, 10th April, 1847.

²³⁸⁾ Nchr. 1. 1850: Ber. G., 1848.

²³⁹⁾ P. Accs. CXXXI, 1856: B. Marx, 26th Sept., 1855.

²⁴⁰⁾ Nchr. 1. 1855; Ber. G., Sept. - Dez., 1853.

²⁴¹⁾ C. of G. H. Interrogation of farmers of the Caledon dist.

²⁴²⁾ P. Accs. No. 14. 1893: A Red Letter Day for Genadendal.

²⁴³⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Jan., 1799; H.G. Schneider, G., p. 175-6.

²⁴⁴⁾ C. of G. H. G.R. Klibing to Select Committee, 15th Apr. 1856

²⁴⁵⁾ Nchr. 5. 1857: Ber. G., 1855.

²⁴⁶⁾ Ibid., 5. 1860; Ber. G., 1858.

²⁴⁷⁾ Lady Duff Gordon, p. 102.

²⁴⁸⁾ P. Accs. CCXXVII, 1857: D.W. Suhl, G., 3rd Apr. 1857.

A few years later another European, who was living together with a Coloured girl opened a shop in the village and added a wine selling business. This again caused disturbances.²⁴⁹⁾ The missionaries therefore cannot be blamed for trying to protect their wards from such disorderly traders. As the missionaries ran their own shop and provided the Coloureds with wine, it was surmised that they were doing this purely for their own benefit. The attacks levelled against them on this score were found to be unjustified.

"...we found that the charges of making undue profit in the sale of goods, and of selling or distributing improper quantities of liquor, were disproved, and that the candid explanation afforded by the intelligent and active superintendent of the Moravian mission was amply confirmed."²⁵⁰⁾

Such communal work as had to be performed was usually done at the instigation and under the supervision of the missionaries. In 1796 Kühnel cut trees to bridge the rivulets. He easily gathered a number of Hottentots prepared to help without any remuneration.²⁵¹⁾ In September, 1801 after torrential rains Rose set about repairing the roads with the help of all the Hottentot men he could muster.²⁵²⁾ The payment of a shilling for the maintenance of the irrigation furrows decided upon in 1834, was suggested by the Brethren.²⁵³⁾ The collective work on the drainage and irrigation system, in fighting fires, in building churches and repairing property pertaining to the congregation has already been described. Perhaps we may explain the willingness of the Hottentots to work on communal enterprises as a relic of tribal organisation, the missionaries superseding the tribal authorities in the management of collective work.

The best example of such unpaid collective work was the erection of the bridge over the Sonderend River. This bridge was commenced, with the financial help of visitors from India,²⁵⁴⁾ in 1819. A foot bridge 14 feet above the summer level of the water was completed by the end of 1820. Thirty-six Hottentots under the supervision of Brother Beinbrecht broke and transported the necessary stones and worked on the bridge in an exemplary manner.²⁵⁵⁾ Part of the wooden super-

²⁴⁹⁾ Nehr. 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

²⁵⁰⁾ Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 330-1.

²⁵¹⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal, Bklf., Jan. - Spt., 1796.

²⁵²⁾ *ibid.*, Journal Bklf., 1801.

²⁵³⁾ Nehr. 6. 1836: Ber. G., 1834.

²⁵⁴⁾ *ibid.*, 3. 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai, 1821.

²⁵⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1822: Ber. G., Jan. - Sept. 1820.

structure was torn away in the heavy rains of 1821.²⁵⁶⁾ ~~the~~ As a result the piers were increased in height. The wagon bridge was finally finished in 1823. The work had been done exclusively by inhabitants of the village under the supervision of Beinbrecht. The money had been donated to the institution.²⁵⁷⁾ The maintenance of the bridge long remained the responsibility of the village and had to be undertaken as voluntary work of the villagers.²⁵⁸⁾ In 1861 the Divisional Council paid part of the cost of repair. In 1863 some farmers provided ox-wagons for the transport of earth. These contributions towards the upkeep of the bridge were not nearly sufficient.²⁵⁹⁾ By 1881 the Divisional Council had still not accepted full responsibility for the bridge, although it had always been responsible for the road leading over it.²⁶⁰⁾ The bridge thus became more of a liability than an asset to the community.

Another example of collective work was the planting of trees, commenced in 1818. The men were asked to volunteer and they responded splendidly. It was decided to sell the wood at a very low price to inhabitants who intended to build houses. The money obtained was to benefit the poor box.²⁶¹⁾ This plan was carried out in the year. 1837.²⁶²⁾

The missionaries were in the main responsible for poor relief.²⁶³⁾ Two chapel-servants were made responsible for the poor box.²⁶⁴⁾ The inhabitants of the settlement appreciated their responsibility towards the poor. In 1866 some chapel-servants suggested the granting of maize and beans to the poor as the poor box was empty.²⁶⁵⁾ In bad harvest years, it was impossible for the congregation to support its own poor. In 1878 the missionaries complain that the mission has to care for the poor of the congregation al-

²⁵⁶⁾ Nchr. 3. 1823: Ber. G., Apr. - Spt., 1821.

²⁵⁷⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1825: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1823. The bridge was 227 feet long, and 19 feet above the summer level.

²⁵⁸⁾ Nchr. 2. 1844: Ber. G., 1841; *ibid.*, 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842; P. Accs. CCXXXIII, 1856: C.R. K&Sbing, G., 30th Jul., 1856

²⁵⁹⁾ Nchr. 11. & 12. 1864: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1863.

²⁶⁰⁾ *ibid.*, März, 1882: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1881.

²⁶¹⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1819: Ber. G., 1818.

²⁶²⁾ *ibid.*, 2. 1840: Ber. G., 1837.

²⁶³⁾ P. Accs. LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811.

²⁶⁴⁾ Appendix A, III, 12.

²⁶⁵⁾ Nchr., 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

though they are really not their responsibility.²⁶⁶⁾

In difficult years the missionaries also provided relief for the community. In 1822 they provided the hungry with meals. The Hottentots were taught to appreciate this by requiring them to improve the irrigation furrows and the burial ground before receiving these meals.²⁶⁷⁾ In 1866 the Moravian institution of a love festival was used to feed the children of Berea.²⁶⁸⁾

The missionaries interceded with the government when supplies ran low or taxes were too heavy. In 1822 after Hallbeck's representations the government granted rice and corn to the settlement.²⁶⁹⁾ In 1816 Latrobe obtained the remission of the poll-tax for the poor.²⁷⁰⁾ In 1866 intercession by the missionaries was no longer effective. They could not obtain a reduction of the road dues in that year.²⁷¹⁾

In Enon~~x~~ the missionaries controlled the farm labourers' wages and thus the whole economy of the community. This was not the case at Genadendal.²⁷²⁾ They were, however, prepared to sell buchu leaves collected by the inhabitants and which had to be sold in bulk.²⁷³⁾ In the difficult economic conditions of the late 1880ies, Brother A.G. Hettasch, tried to introduce new industries to open up new possibilities for earning money for the residents. An appeal was made to friends in Europe to donate £400 so that a castor oil industry and a silk industry could be started.²⁷⁴⁾ In 1886 6,000 castor oil seeds were planted and a plantation of ~~the~~ 12,000 mulberry trees was progressing satisfactorily. In April of the same year castor oil presses arrived.²⁷⁵⁾ To-day there are hardly any relics of these late attempts at making the community self-sufficient again.

²⁶⁶⁾ Nchr. 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878.

²⁶⁷⁾ P. Accs. Moravian Mission &c. Hallbeck, G., 26th Aug., and 17th Sept., 1822.

²⁶⁸⁾ Nchr. 3. 1868: Ber. Berea, Jun., 1865 - Dez., 1866.

²⁶⁹⁾ *ibid.*, 5. 1823: Ber. G., Okt., 1821 - Mai 1822.

²⁷⁰⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 385, 390.

²⁷¹⁾ Nchr. 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1886.

²⁷²⁾ Theal, Records, xxiii, p. 14.

²⁷³⁾ Nchr. 1. 1826: Ber. G., 1824; *ibid.*, 1. 1843: Ber. G., 1840; *ibid.*, 1. 1849: Ber. G., 1845; *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

²⁷⁴⁾ P. Accs. No. 349, 1885: Genadendal and its Urgent Need of a New Branch of Industry - A.G. Hettasch.

²⁷⁵⁾ Nchr. 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1886.

It is obvious that Genadendal played a part in the economy of the Colony, although its importance decreased from 1840. Genadendal provided a reservoir of labour for the farms in the neighbourhood. The proximity of labour to these farms increased their value in comparison with similar tracts of land elsewhere. The advantage to the farmers was that although comparatively high wages had to be paid them during ploughing and harvest, it was not necessary to provide for their keep during the off season.²⁷⁶⁾ The Genadendalers provided their share of labour on the roads, railways and mines. Though their main export was labour they exported other products such as wool and buchu leaves and they were of course consumers of farm produce, especially during bad harvest years, and in increasing amounts, of trade commodities. The Coloureds did not prove without initiative. A resident earned his living outside Genadendal by cattle trading in 1833.²⁷⁷⁾ In 1849 a transport rider lost seven oxen.²⁷⁸⁾ Thus, if economic conditions seem to stagnate in the second half of the Nineteenth Century, the reason must not be sought in a falling off of missionary effort or in the listlessness of the Coloured residents. The tendency was the result of the general economic development of the country in that period.

²⁷⁶⁾ Papers Relative to Natives: Hallbeck to Commissioners, 12th May, 1825.

²⁷⁷⁾ Schr. 1. 1836: Ber. G., 1833.

²⁷⁸⁾ *ibid.*, 3. 1851: Ber. G., 1849.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY GENADENDAL UNDER
THE INFLUENCE OF THE MISSIONARIES OF THE
UNITAS FRATRUM
1792 — 1892

Thesis presented
for the degree of
Master of Arts.

Department of History

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I n t r o d u c t i o n

Object of this thesis has been to underline a small facet of the influence of the Missionaries on the Coloured people at the Cape in the nineteenth century; to describe the impact of Christianity on Single social unit, which was a fusion of primitive Hottentot and slave elements, subject to strung Euro-pean (white) pressure, both economic and otherwise.

What was intended as a modest exploitation of the information available has resulted in a perhaps too lengthy treatise. But it is felt that the period of a century covered, warrants as full a discussion as possible.

it is hoped that this thesis has succeeded not merely in telling the story of the mission at Genadendal, but has emphasised the significant interplay of religious, economic and social contacts, ideas and problems in the development of Coloured society at the station. For Genadendal is an example of the growth of a Christian Mission in a colony of settlement.

the sources on which the thesis is based are in the main the periodical publications of the Unitas Fratrum. the English accounts are valuable for letters and contemporary articles by the missionaries, while those in the German language contain an almost complete set of annual reports from the Brethren on the stations. the valuable diaries, extant on the majority of the Moravian mission stations all over the world, as well as the correspondence at Genadendal had to be ignored for the purpose of this thesis because of their length. .his material, kept at Genadendal, is invaluable for the history of the missions in South Africa. It should be housed in a place where it will not be lost to posterity.

I am sincerely indebted to Rev. L.A. Schmidt, Rev. P.4. Schaberg, Mr. and Mrs. E. Weder and Berw. D. Wessels whose 'encouragement and assistance were invaluable to me in finding and selecting the material on which the thesis is based.

Abbreviations.

tier.	= Bericht.
Bklf.	= Baviaanskloof.
BO	= Miscellaneous Documents 1795 - 1803.
Br.	= Brother, Bruder.
C. of G. U.	= Cape of Good Hope Votes and Proceedings of parliament, 1856.
CO	= Colonial Office Records.
Exs. P. Accs.	= Extracts periodical Accounts of the Missions of the United Brethren, 1790 – 1834.
G.	= Genadendal, Gnadenthal.
Miss. Reg.	= Missionary Register 1819 – 1823.
.	m Nchr Rrichten aus der Brüdergemeine.
P. Aces.	= periodical Accounts of the Missions of the United Brethren.
V. Accs. or. Miss.	= Moravian Missions &c.
Vol.	= Volume.

I.

The Origins and Thought of the Unitas Fratrum.'

The Church that was to send the first protestant missionary, Georg Schmidt, to South Africa, was the Church

of the United Brethren.¹) This Church had its origins in the work of the great reformer Johann Huss. In 1451 a number of Brethren and Sinters formed the 'Unitas Prati' at Künnewalde in Bohemia. It had a membership of 200,000 in 1531 but it was broken up during the Thirty Years War.²)

The remnants of this Church,³) and other German pietistic elements settled on the lands of Count Zinzendorf, at Herrnhut in Saxony. Here, on the 13th. August, 1727, they founded the renewed Church of the United Brethren. This community was imbued with the missionary spirit. The Moravian refugees, who had left their country because of their religious convictions, were in particular the carriers of this spirit. Count Zinzendorf, their patron, shared their fervour. With his sincere and pious belief in the Saviour, his zeal for the work of God, his community spirit and his talent for organisation, Zinzendorf was precisely the man to foster the potential powers of the Herrnhuters.⁴) Zinzendorf's aim in his own words was: "Die Bekehrung der Heiden, und zwar nur solcher, an die sich sonst niemand machen würde."⁵) On the 21st August, 1752, the first two missionaries were sent out from Herrnhut to the Danish colony of St. Thomas in the West Indies.⁶)

To understand the spirit of these missionaries, one must be familiar with the spiritual atmosphere at Herrnhut. The community at Herrnhut was a product of Pietism,⁷) and contained a number of different elements.

"On the one hand, it consisted of the Lutheran inwardness of Count Zinzendorf, a man of great personal charm and attractiveness, ...his aim was to unite the true lovers of Christ in small groups,

1) Georg Schmidt und seine Opvolgers p. 2. R

2)

3) L. i. Schmidt, Die Brüderkirche und die Brüderkirche in Genadendal. 1940. p. 3.

ibid., p. 4.

4) Ad. Schulze, Abriss einer Geschichte der Brüdermission. Herrnhut. 1901. p. 2-4.

5) '1)⁴

ibid., p. 3. (The conversion of heathen, and only those to whom no one else would go.)

6) ibid., p. 5.

7) E. Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches. Vol. ii. London. 1931. p. 19.

rather after the earlier ideal of 'Luther and Spener's system of 'conventicles'. he never dreamed of the impossibility of uniting these supra-ecclesiastical groups with Lutheranism. On the other hand, the Herrnhut Community contained the sectarian impulse of the Moravian Brethren, who, having incidentally settled upon the Count's estate, became to him a 'chariot and warhorse for gaining the victory; in the process, however, his conventicle idea developed into that of a sect, organised on an exclusive basis, founded upon the voluntary principle, and upon Maturity in Christian experience, exercising powers of discipline and excommunication - a

body in which lay men exercised a spiritual ministry.⁴)

These

two conflicting tendencies fused, and because the Lutheran Church did not accept the 'conventicle' idea of the Count, a new Church was born of this fusion.

"...its chief aim was to attain the highest possible degree of inward piety and Christ-mysticism, by means of worship, organization, and education.")

Troeltsch describes the qualities of the Church of the United Brethren in the following words:

'The body- of the communicants was to be as pure as possible; and discipline was directed to this end. The small size of the community, its system of mutual control, its independence of the State, its legal character as an 'association' (rein), its various undertakings which arose in order to secure its existence, its urgent desire to win souls freely to Christ through missions to the heathen, above all the endeavour after an active purity of the Christian ethic which was to distinguish its members from the 'children of this world': all this gave the Church of the Brethren - partly with and partly

10. against

its will - a certain likeness to the sects..")

The ethic of the Moravians originated in the Lutheran tradition by Zinzendorf was tolerant, but through Calvinistic accretions it was also related to Puritanism.¹

One of the most important elements in the teaching of the United Brethren was their mysticism.

"The Count himself was its not outstanding representative - indeed, it was Zinzendorf who expressed this type of piety in a form which was intimate and spiritual,....Zinzendorf no longer regarded Pietism as an attempt to reform the church; to him it was a voluntary association of individuals who are united with the Saviour who is spiritually present and who can be found in the word,... He transformed Spener's conventicle ideal into a form of free Christian social life, through which he and the brethren, in this community guided by providence, have been

¹) ibid., p. 719-20. See Ad. Schulze, Abriss, p. 2-3 for a description of the Senfkorn-Orden.

9) ibid., p. 72j.

10) ibid., p.

11) *ibid.*, p. 720.

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granted a special relationship with the person of the Saviour.this Pietist Christ- Mysticism, and especially that of the Zinzendorf variety, always regarded itself as direct experience as an entirely personal and private relation with the living Saviour."

This element in a sense contradicted the sectarian organization forced on Zinzendorf by the Moravian emigrants.¹²⁾

The personal piety evident in the writings of Schleiermacher, (Lutheran) and even Goethe, was of importance outside the Church. It is manifested in the practice of making and reading reports on the inner life of individuals.' In their missionary accounts this trait in their ideology is one of the most noticeable. Their influence on the rest of Protestant Christianity is greater than is generally realised. Their famous book of Biblical 'watchwords'¹⁴⁾ is printed in twenty-six different languages and 300,000 copies are sold annually. The membership of the Church is only 210,926.¹⁵⁾

The United Brethren have similarities with other 'sects' that originated in this period; such as the Quakers and the Baptists.)

In other directions.... however, the relation between Moravian mysticism and ecclesiasticism is most obscure. Zinzendorf always considered himself in agreement with Lutheran theology. In reality, however, he only agreed with certain sections of Lutheran doctrine. With the ecclesiastical and sociological of Lutheranism he certainly did not agree' ¹⁶⁾

Actually there were closer affinities to the Calvinists than to the Lutherans.¹⁸⁾ 'This is one of the reasons why they found favour with the Calvinist colonists at the Cape.

Their sectarian ideals led, them to their belief in the 'dignity of work. ⁹⁾

the economic results,...soon appeared in the shape of an excellent and increasingly successful business life, characterized by integrity and frugality."

As the communities had to meet their own expenses and consisted mainly of poor people, this element was strengthened. By these methods they also paid for most of their missionary work.)

12. Broeltsch, p. 788-90.

13,) ¹⁴⁾ ibid., p. 790.

14) A calendar, in which every day of the year is placed under a Biblical text.

15) L.R Schmidt, Die Broedkerk, p. 4, 6.

16) E. Broeltsch, p. 719-20.

17) ibid., p. 789.

The missionaries, who came out to the cape in 1792 were, therefore, of the artisan class and aimed at creating a self-sufficient community at Genadendal.²¹) The Moravian communities did not provide all the lands for the missionary work. Throughout the Nineteenth Century this 'small but energetic Church' had many outside sympathisers. Financial aid came from many quarters and societies of friends of the Moravian Missions were formed in a number of European countries and America. In 1817 the London Association in aid of Moravian Missions was formed which contributed substantially to the funds of the mission until the end of the Nineteenth Century.²²) Besides, the missionaries at Genadendal report the arrival of aid in kind from sympathisers in England and the Continent.²³)

Earl Russell is reported to have said that the constitution of the church was the most skilfully and wisely balanced of any with which he was acquainted.²⁴) It combines both democratic and aristocratic elements. It is ruled by bishops, appointed by the supreme legislative body, or, when that is not in session, by the supreme executive body.²⁵) The legislative body, consisting of the General synod of the Church, has supreme authority. This body is convoked infrequently. When it is not in session a Directory acts with full powers. A special commission is appointed jointly with the Directory to deal with the affairs of the missionary work. To-day the various national branches of the Church care for certain mission fields, although there is mutual help when necessity arises.²⁶)

The Moravians have always been very careful in the selection of their missionaries. Besides, the number of missionaries in proportion to the total membership of the Church is very low. In 1903 Stewart estimated it to be one missionary for every sixty communicants, whereas other Christian Churches average one missionary for every 3,703

18) Troeltsch, p. 720.

19) J.7. Marais, *The Cape Coloured People*, Longmans. p. 143.

20) s. Troeltsch, p. 720-1.

21) J.S. Marais, p. 143. J. Stewart, *Dawn in the Dark Continent*. London. 1903. p. 91.

22) J. Stewart, pp. 90-91.

23) Periodical Accounts of the Missions of the United Brethren and *Nachrichten aus der Krüdergemeine*; passim.

24) J. Cartwright, p. 92-3.

25) *ibid.*, p. 93.

26) L.R. Schmidt, *Die Broederkerk*, p. 1.

communicants. They never seem to have lacked zealous missionaries prepared to preach the Gospel in the most forbidding regions. The list of applicants is scrutinised by the missionary department; the applicants are free to "accept or decline" the appointment, and they may choose the field they prefer.²⁷⁾

The missionaries of the United Brethren did not receive any special training until well into the second half of the Nineteenth Century. The emphasis was laid on the willingness of the applicants to serve as missionaries. As a result few really learned men went out into the field. After often they did not learn the language of the people they were preaching to.)

The infractions given to the missionaries were alas in saner terms and were meant to be corrected and supplement by actual experience in the field. Only in 1636 were more precise instructions worked out with particular reference to the different fields. The missionaries were instructed to do whatever they did "in the name of God". They were not to be held up to the halo congregations as martyrs. They were to work together in a spirit of brotherly love. Special care was to be exercised in the making of converts and in giving them positions of responsibility. The bringing of converts to Europe was in the beginning strongly disapproved of.²⁹⁾

Their attitude towards the heathens was such that they did not try to eradicate all non-Christian customs. They allowed such customs as did not directly interfere with Christian principles to be continued. They were for instance, prepared to baptize a polygamist and allow him to keep more than one wife but they did not allow polygamy among their ordinary converts. Baptized polygamists, however, were debarred from posts of responsibility in the congregation. The baptizing of polyandrists on the other hand was prohibited.")

They found by experience that the best method of influencing the minds of the reaction was to preach to them simply on the suffering and death of Christ for the sins of mankind. They found that this approach had far greater

²⁷⁾ J. Stewart., pp. 88-9. Until 1818 the final decision was often left to the drawing of the lot. Ad. Schulze Abriss, pp. 49-50, 133-5.

²⁶⁾ Ad. Schulze, Abriss, pp. 46-7, 136-8, 257-65.

²⁹⁾ Ibid., pp. 47-9, 135-6, 249-50. J. Stewart, p. 38-9.

³⁰⁾ Ad. Schulze, Abriss, pp. 56-70, 151-5, 262-7.

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effect than teaching about God. All the heathen seemed to have some notion about God, but they knew nothing of a merciful God and this appealed to them. After 18;4 this method of approach of the heathen was followed universally by the Brethren)

Zinzendorf's early aim as the gaining of a few select converts for the Lord and creating a Christian elite among the heathens. this early aim of the Brethren was modified, o. Leg to the fact that They made more converts than expected. the idea that communities on the lines of the original community at Herrnhut should also be formed among the heathens was introduced. in 1869 the idea of independent churches developing,; out of these communities was formulated by the General Synod. 32)

Artisans and traders have always accompanied the actual missionaries. In the beginning most of the missionaries were artisans and traders. Although the proportion of learned men to the traders and artisans has increased, the practice of sending out lay brethren as raters and artisans has not ceased. At first the line between lay brethren and ministers was not drawn very clearly. the lay brethren took part in the actual preaching of the Gospel and care of the congregation whilst earning an income for the mission station. the tendency been to draw this distinction more clearly. a missionary in the service of the society was allowed to work for private profit or own private property. 33)

the Sister, who went out as *the* wives of the

directly concerned in the mission work. They had thus to be carefully selected as well. A single missionary always had a wife selected for him by the mission directory at home.)

in their relations with the colonial governments the Brethren followed the principle enunciated in the Bible: let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. (Romans, 13. v. 1.) They did not attempt to influence the policy of the government directly, but indirectly they hoped that their influence would ameliorate the native policy and of the colonial governments and that government would learn

1) Ad. Schulze, *Abriss*, p. 60; J. Stewart, p. 89.

³²) *ibid.* Schulze, *Abriss*, pp. 56-70, 151-5, 252-7.

³³) 1.4.3, do 267; J. Stewart, p. 261.

³⁴) Ad. Schulze, p. 56.

to appreciate Christianisation.³⁵⁾ This quietist attitude was probably a result of the fact that, unlike the English missionaries, most Moravians originally came from absolutist states of central Europe.³⁶⁾

In their dealings with other denominations Zinzendorf instructed the missionaries to let their converts know as little as possible about the divisions of Christianity and to be impartial when their converts did notice these divisions. In the beginning governments and other Churches showed marked opposition, but as they learned more about the United Brethren this attitude changed. During the nineteenth Century they were on friendly terms with missionaries of other denominations, and colonial governments in many cases favoured them.³⁸⁾ With regard to the European colonists a similar development took place, more gradual and less comprehensive.³⁹⁾

There were always close contacts between the missionaries and the congregations at home. Frequent visitations of the mission fields by important men of the General Synod were undertaken. In the regular reports the missionaries sent home and their wide circulation made the congregations aware of the developments in the missionary fields. Books were written about the work in foreign fields and some of Zinzendorf's hymns deal with the missionary effort.⁴¹⁾

The missionaries of the United Brethren, were interested in the genuine conversion of the individual rather than in mass conversions; they were practical, persevering and zealous. One of the most important reasons for these laudable qualities was their fervent religious conviction:

...they have some secret of religious life ... some ideal in their Christianity towards which they work without saying touch about it.")

unless the full significance of this factor is realised, it will be difficult to understand the self-denying work of the Moravians in South Africa.

³⁵⁾ Ad. Schulze; Abriss, pp. 66f., 157f.

) J. S. Marais, pp. 141-3.

³⁷⁾ Ad. Schulze, Abriss, pp. 37., 155f.

³³⁾ *ibid.*, pp. 15-7.

³⁹⁾ *ibid.*, p. 157f.

ibid., pp. 49, 135, 253f.

Al) *ibid.*, pp. 141-9, 52-7, 25b-262.

⁴²⁾ J. Stewart, pp. 66-6.

II

Georg Schmidt, 1737-1744.

Ziegenbalg and Böving, two German missionaries on their way to India, tried to arouse European Christendom to the degraded condition of the Hottentots without much success. Eventually two Dutch clerics, van Alphen and de Bruyn, asked Zinzendorf and the Herrnhuters to send a missionary to the Cape.¹)

The man selected for this task, Georg Schmidt, was born in 1709, the son of Moravian peasants. Hearing of the United Brethren, he journeyed to Herrnhut. Here he came to be "recognised as a young man of exceptional piety and devotion.") he was sent to Bohemia where he suffered six years imprisonment for the sake of his religious convictions. Zinzendorf chose him as the first missionary to the Cape.)

Immediately after the request for a missionary at the Cape had arrived in Herrnhut, Schmidt proceeded to Holland Where he arrived in March, 1735. he at once began to learn Dutch. Zinzendorf's friends procured the necessary permission from the council of Seventeen. The Council insisted on a religious examination of the prospective missionary during which Schmidt "made a favourable impression upon the

divines'⁴) When he had satisfied the clerical commission as to his faith and character, the Court of Directors gave their approval, granted him a free passage to the Cape and provided him with an introductory letter to Governor de la Fontaine who was Instructed to "grant him every help and assistance in this good purpose."⁵)

On the 9th July, 1737, Schmidt's ship 't Huis te burg arrived in Table Bay. he immediately went to call on the new Governor Kervel. The Secunde, captain RhGenius, a born Berliner,⁶) invited him to stay at his home.⁷) The inhabitants of Cape Town were not over optimistic as to his

1) 1. Schmidt-Pretoria, Der Kulturanteil des Deutschvolkes am Aufbau des Burenvolkes. 1936. p. 247; J.T. Hamilton, A History of the Missions of the Moravian church. 1901. p. 14. Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 4-6.

2) J. du Plessis, A History of Christian mission in South Africa. 1911. Chapter, vii.

3) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, pp. 3-4; J. Schmidt-Pretoria, p. 110-111; H.G. Schneider, Gnadenhal, die erste evangelische Missionsstation in Afrika. Herrnhut. 1892. p. 13.

4) J. du Plessis, A History, Chapter vii.

⁵) ibid., Chapter vii.

Noritz, Die Deutschen am Kap, 1552-1606. Weimar. 1936. p. 303-4.

success in converting the Hottentots.⁸) -Le Council of Policy likewise doubted that he would be successful. His arrival is recorded in the minutes of this body in the following way:

"And.., by the vessel 't Luis te Rensburg" there has come to land here a certain person named Georg Schmidt, with the purpose - if that be possible - of converting *tae* Hottentots from Heathendom to Christianity, all possible assistance shall be rendered to the aforesaid person for the prosecution of that pious work and the attainment of its good object.")

Schmidt was detained in Cape Town for a considerable period. During this time he made the acquaintance¹⁰ of the clerics in Cape Town and of the sincere Christians.¹⁰) The Dutch pastors, Le Sueur and. *Kok*, raised objection to *his* performing the sacrament of baptism, but *whether* they informed him that pastors of the Dutch reformed Church had the sole right to baptise is hard to say.¹¹)

In the beginning of September, as opportunity for his journey into the interior presented itself. Rampen, a corporal in charge of the Company's post at Zoetenelksvallei¹², was returning to duty.¹²) The Governor supplied Schmidt with provisions and instructed him to give him every assistance.¹³) Two Hottentots, Africo and Kibbodo (Kibido) travelled with them. The party¹⁴ arrived at the Company's post, on the 13th September, 1737.¹⁴) Schmidt first settled at hartebeestkraal near the Company's post at Zoetemelkevallei. He immediately began building a house. Some of the soldiers and the Hottentots helped him; the latter realised that he had not come to take away their cattle or their land. The house was soon completed, but Schmidt was to stay in it for only seven months. A number of Hottentots lived near the house, among them Africo.

Schmidt soon started the work of preaching the Gospel

⁷Extracts from Periodical Accounts of the Mission of the United Brethren, 1793-1834. Account of Voyage to and abode at the Cape by Georg Schmidt himself.

⁸Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 2; J. du Plessis, A History, Ch. vii.

) J. du Plessis, A History, Ch. vii.

) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 3; H.G. Schneider, G. p. 13.

11) J. du Plessis, Ch. vii.

12) H.G. Schneider, G. p. 14.

13) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 8.

14) Exs. ... Aces. Account by Georg Schmidt.

to them. He also attempted to teach them agriculture so as to make thee live a settled life which would favour his work.¹⁵) his description of the Hottentots is not very favourable.

'The Hottentots are of a phlegmatic disposition, and sleep much in the day time. in a moonlight night thee amuse themselves with dancing, caper-cutting, and singing, and at the same watch over their flocks. (These flocks were often attacked by lions and leopards.) Their clothing consists chiefly of two sheep-skins sewed together and cut into 6=9 shape. These are kept greased and tied around their waist; but the common story of their wearing cheeps entrails round their arms and bodies is without foundation.

Indeed the women often wear thongs cut of bull's **hide** round their legs, but never entrails. Their riches consist in oxen, cows and sheep and their **chief** food is milk and boiled meat. instead of bread they eat wild roots, which they also now and then boil. They neither plant nor cultivate **the ground**, they rove with their cattle from place to place, whenever they can find the greatest quantity of provender. There they set up five or six tents under the control of a captain. They have neither divine worship or any ceremonies, and seem to believe nothing but that there is a great Lord of all, whom they call *Iuileha*, and a devil called *Goba 'aie a*, of whom however, they do not appear afraid."")

that the Hottentots near the post still lived in a ~~nomadic~~ state and that they still ()tend cattle and sheep.

method of teaching these primitive people the Gospel would not have found the approval of modern missionaries, but the Hottentots listened to him perhaps because this ^{was} the first European who came to help them. visited them at their fires, distributed tobacco among them and talked to them. Later he tried to learn the Hottentots language. This he found impossible on account of the numerous clicks. He therefore decided to teach them Dutch so that they could understand him. In October, 1737 he started a school for this purpose. he prayed with his pupils before and after the lesson and on Sundays he read them the Bible and spoke to them of the Saviour.¹⁷)

the proximity of the Company's post soon proved to be a drawback on account of the soldiery posted there. In February, 1738 he was 'given to understand' that he was too near the post.¹⁶) *Pais* means that having drawn lots he saw that

¹⁵) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 8.

¹⁶) *Exs.* Accs. Account by G. Schmidt.

¹⁷) *J. du Plessis*, eh. vii; Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 6.

¹⁸) . Accs. Account by G. Schmidt.

God wanted him to leave and showed him where to go. He moved to the opening of the Baviaanskloof where Genadendal now stands. Eighteen Hottentots, who had taken a deeper interest in his teaching, accompanied him. The acting Governor Swellensrebel, approved of this and allowed Schmidt the use of the land. Schmidt's friend and patron, Rhenius, instructed the corporal to assist him again in building.)

A beginning was made in what Schmidt called a 'desert place', on the 3rd April, 1753. Soon the missionary resumed his activities, apparently without much success. Willem, one of the Hottentots, alone was genuinely affected and pleaded with his people in the Hottentots language. Besides Willem, Kibbodo and Africo, seemed to be more interested than the rest.²⁰) The Sunday services were attended by between 35-50 natives.

In November, 1740, Schmidt wrote to Herrnhut about his success and his problems. The people who come to the meetings morning and evening tended their cattle and worked during the day. The school he had established did not last long as "these people do not love perseverance," and the task of teaching them "Low Dutch" was well nigh impossible. Yet he taught them to say a prayer before the meetings. His congregation consisted of 10 men, 10 women, 7 boys, and 5 girls, who were divided into classes. Fifteen could read the New Testament. He reminded the Brethren that he was alone and urgently needed an assistant.²¹) He had to contend with three major problems. First, there was the language barrier. Secondly there was the fact that the Hottentots including members of his congregation were prone to drunkenness.²²) even Africo and Kibbodo fell victims to this vice.²³)

Thirdly, the Hottentots were still nomads and trekked around with their cattle.²⁴) Once, when his wards had let their cattle stray onto the sown lands and had not remedied the matter when asked to do so, he discontinued conducting services and the school as a punishment.²⁵)

The attitude of the colonists towards Schmidt's work is

¹⁹) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 8-9.

²⁰) Exs. P. Aces. Account by G. Schmidt.

²¹) Exs. I. Aces. G. Schmidt, 18th Nov., 1740.

²²) H.G. Schneider, o., p. 15.

²³) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 10.

²⁴) H.G. Schneider, p. 15.

²⁵) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 10.

difficult to ascertain. probably most colonists were indifferent towards this remarkable man. His work did not affect their labour supply as that of later missionaries did. live dutch people visited him in November, 1738 and gave a favourable account of him in Cape Town.²⁶) Georg Schmidt did not confine his work to the Lottentots, but also preached the Gospel to the colonists. Besides Kampen he also converted the worthy corporal's successor, Martinsen,²⁷) and maintained contact with religious people at Cape Town.²⁶)

in 1738 Kulenkamp's^s famous pastoral Letter arrived which branded the Herrnhutters and Zinzendorf as heretics. it had a detrimental effect on all the missions of the United Brethren in Dutch colonies. Zinzendorf immediately replied. Nitschmann and Tiler, two missionaries of the United Brethren on their way to Ceylon in 1739 carried a letter containing the count's refutation of Kulenkamp's charges. As it was signed by the members of the Classis of Amsterdam, it eased Schmidt's position for some time.)

Schmidt had fairly close contact with the community in Herrnhut. Zinzendorf wrote to him reminding him of the importance the Brethren attached to the death of Christ.³⁰) The visits of Nitschmann and Eller, who were at the Cape on their voyage to and from Ceylon strengthened the lone worker in his purpose.³¹) The community at Herrnhut twice unsuccessfully attempted to send him an assistant.³²) Zinzendorf then sent him a regular letter of ordination empowering him to baptize. Schmidt was overjoyed when he collected the letter at Cape Town in March, 1742. Ultimately this new power conferred upon him was to prove his undoing.)

On the return journey to Baviaanskloof, Schmidt baptized Willem in a rivulet, "in the name of the Son who has died for us and in the Name of the Father and in the name of the Holy Ghost." He gave Willem the name of Joshua. Later at Baviaanskloof he baptized four other members of his congregation whom he considered worthy of this important step.

²⁶) Exs. 2. Aces. Account by G. Schmidt.

²⁷) H.G. Schnieder, G., p. 15.

²⁸) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 11.

²⁹) du Plessis, A history, Oh. vii.

³⁰) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 13.

³¹) Exs. 1. Aces. Account by Schmidt.

³²) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 14.

³³) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 14-15; Exs. 2. Aces. Account by G. Schmidt.

Later they slipped back into their old ways and returned to the kraals and absented themselves from the meetings.)

At Cape Town the baptism astonished the populace and aroused the Dutch R

own sent for Joshua and Christian (Africo) and examined Lem. They were surprised at their knowledge and sent them back exhorting them to remain in obedience to their teacher and to what he had taught. ³⁵⁾ They also summoned Georg Schmidt himself to the Cape and he was interrogated by the clergyman and the Council of ranees. He remained firm about **his right to baptize.** the Council warned him that he could no longer baptize until the authorities in Holland had given a decision. ³⁶⁾

three Dutch ministers at the Cape assembled in Cape Town and wrote to the classis of Amsterdam, to which the Dutch Reformed Church at the Cape was affiliated. they formed the Classis that Governor Swellengrebel had prohibited Schmidt from carrying out any further baptisms. they maintained that Georg Schmidt was not entitled to teach as he did not conform to the rules of the National Christian synod, nor had he been examined by this body. They pointed out that he taught the faith of the Herrnhut sect. His authority to baptize had been conferred illegally by a written Bull or Act of Count Zinzerlör and not by the Classis.

Hottentots had been baptized irregularly, not before a full congregation. the baptized Hottentots were not fully versed in the principles of Christianity and, as Schmidt had not been ordained by the laying on of hands, they could not partake of the Holy Communion immediately after their baptism as required by the Dutch Reformed Church. They requested the Classis to send out **Krankenbezoekers** or schoolmeesters to look after the interests of the Hottentots in the place of Schmidt. ³⁷⁾

The answer of the Classis intimated that the Synods of North and South Holland had pronounced the baptisms of the Herrnhutters out of order. They promised to send out suitable men "to instruct the unfortunate Hottentots and others

³⁴⁾ Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 15-16.

³⁵⁾ z. Aces. Account by G.

³⁶⁾ Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 17-18.

³⁷⁾ C. Spoelstra, Bouwetoefening voor de Geschiedenis der Nederduitsch-Gereformeerde Kerk in Zuid-Afrika. 1906. deel I. p. 195f.

beyond the mountain (Over Berg"³⁸) In the middle of the Eighteenth Century the principle of cuius r e g i o, **illius** r e l i g i o was as yet too strong for the Classis to allow a missionary of a denomination not their own to preach at the Cape. besides, the Company feared that a non-reformed church in the Colony would cause dissension.

without waiting for the answer of the Classis, Schmidt informed the Brethren that his position at the Cape was untenable and the best course of action would be for him to return to procure more favourable conditions from the authorities in Holland.³⁹) In August, 1743, he received letters from Herrnhut advising him to return. Entrusting his garden to Christian, Schmidt took leave of his small congregation on the 30th October, 1743.

he was granted a free passage to Holland by the Council of Policy. Swellengrebel, Rhenius and others gave him testimonials of good conduct. the Governor promised to protect the Hottentot community at Baviaanskloof. Schmidt left Table Bay on the 4th November 1744 and arrived in Texel three months later.⁴⁰)

The congregation left at Baviaanskloof consisted of eleven married couples, eight single men, nine boys and eight girls. his small community of forty-seven Hottentots apparently held together for the first few years.⁴¹)

Schmidt's and Zinzendorf's subsequent efforts to obtain the permission of the Council of Seventeen for Schmidt's return were unavailing for two reasons: the denominational jealousy and deference to 'public opinion' in the Colony.⁴²)

Martin Schwabler, a former servant of the Company at the Cape, decided to continue the work. he was one of Georg Schmidt's European converts. Schwabler left Europe in 1748, ostensibly to seek re-appointment with the Company, but in reality to proceed to Baviaanskloof.⁴³)

he reported that the community at Baviaanskloof longed for their old teacher.⁴⁴) Schwabler did not leave any traces

Schmidt Spoelstra, Bouwstoffen, Deel II. p. 41J.

39) en sy Opvolgers, p. 18.

J. Du Plessis, Ch. vii; Exs. re, Aces. Account by G. Schmidt
41) Zxs. .0. Aces. account by G. Schmidt.

42) Schneider, G., p. 23.

Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 19; A.G. Schneider, U., p. 32f.

44) ibid., p. 19; ibid., p. 33.

on the life of the community* tie died during an epidemic in 1756. This was reported by Wynstrauch, another of Schmidt's converts. he also reported that the congregation held together till Joshua (Willem) and Christian (Africo) died in 1755 or 1756, but in 1758 Baviaanekloof was deserted. In 1760 some Indian missionaries of the United Brethren were assured in Cape Town that the Hotetentots had not forgotten Schmidt and that some of the baptized were still alive.⁴⁵) Schmidt, back in Germany married and continued in the service of the Church of the United Brethren, he died on the 1st, August, 1785, in the hour that he had, set aside to pray.⁴⁶

United Brethren did not forget its South African station. In 1789, the Synod of the United Brethren decided to renew its work at the Cape.⁴⁷) the attitude in Holland towards the Unitas ratrum had changed, with the diffusion of their ideas. A congregation of the United brethren was established at Zeist, and the authorities began to appreciate the value of their work in the colonies.⁴⁸) At the Cape the attitude towards the missionaries, especially among the clergy had undergone a change as well. Two young reformed ministers, an tier and Vos, brought the 'missionary spirit' out to the Cape with them and conducted services for the Hottentots. Thus when Bishop Michel xxx visited the Cape on his return from India, he realised that the tide had turned.⁴⁹) After the Lutherans had received permission to form their own congregation it would have been illogical for the Company and the clergy further to resist the establishment of a 'Lutheran' mission.⁵⁰)

In 1789, the 'United Brethren petitioned the Company to permit them to send, three Brethren to the Cape. they were to be permitted to choose a suitable location in the interior under the protection of the Company where they would be able to administer the sacraments, preach the Gospel and form a congregation. they further petitioned that they should have the power to appoint and dismiss the missionaries. The Brethren were to sail in a Company's ship at a reasonable price. They promised to avoid everything that would cause resentment among the established churches at the Cape. this plea.

⁴⁵) H.G. Schneider, ., p. 33-34.

Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 20.

⁴⁷) Exs. P. Aces. 1790.

⁴⁸) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 544-5.

⁴⁹) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 21.

⁵⁰) v. du Plessis, t.41. ix.

tition was granted under three conditions. The number and names of the missionaries should be made known to the Company, they were not to settle in a place already occupied by a Christian congregation, and the missionaries should not be dismissed or appointed without the knowledge of the Company. these conditions, fair in themselves, were open to varying interpretations. The second condition was exploited by certain persons in an attempt to drive the missionaries out of the Colony into the interior.⁵¹ It was under these conditions that Karsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel resumed Schmidt's work at the Cape.

?1) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 37-8.

III
missionaries and their work at Genadendal
1772:-187:—

The century of missionary work in Genadendal from 1792 to 1892 can be divided into four periods. The first period of initial difficulties and of consolidation, stretches from the first arrival of missionaries to the visitation of Brother C.I. Latrobe in 1816. The second period, one of vigorous expansion and improvement commences with the stimulus given by the visitation of Latrobe and ends with the death of the beloved and energetic organiser, bishop Hans Peter Ballbeck in 1840. The third period is characterised by the increasing opposition of both the inhabitants at Genadendal and the Colonists to missionary work. It extends from 1840 when C.L. Teutsch became Superintendent till the 1860s when Künnel became Superintendent and Berea was founded. The fourth period ushers in developments making for the independence of the Church of the United Brethren in South Africa especially after the division of the mission field into an Eastern and a Western province in 1859. It really only comes to a close in 1922 when the first Church Conference for South Africa West was held.¹) It is a period where the missionaries increasingly realise that the ideal of a Coloured community on the pattern of the Herrnhut community, is no longer practicable because of the early effects of the Industrial Revolution in the Cape.)

F i r s t P e r i o d.

The three first missionaries, Hendrik Marsveld, from Gouda in Holland, Daniel Schwinn from Erbach in the Odenwald and Johann Christian Kühnel from Ober-Seiersdorf in the Lausitz were all ordained deacons of the Church of the United Brethren.³) They arrived in Cape Town in November, 1792 and were cordially welcomed by all those sincerely interested in missionary work. They stayed in the home of one of these friends. The government advised them to proceed to the place where Schmidt had worked as there were still Hottentots there.⁴) They proceeded with Teunissen, the commander of the Company's post Zoetemelkswaai, into the interior. On the 24th December, 1792 they reached Baviaanskloof. They found

1) L.R. Schmidt, Die Broederkerk, p. 12.

2) Nachrichten aus der Brüdergemeine 5. heft, 1885: Bericht von Gandenthal 1884; 1. heft, 1888: Bericht von Gnadenthal Jul—Dez., 1886.

3) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 40.

4) Exs. Aces. journal of aviaanskloof, rov., 1792-14ch., 1793.

ruins of Schmidt's house and some of the fruit trees he had planted.⁵) A little further away they found the only remaining baptized convert of Georg Schmidt, Old Lena or

Magdalena⁷. after greeting the missionaries with the words:

'hank' be to God." she produced a Dutch New Testament concealed in a leather bag covered with sheepskin, in parch

a new building at Baviaanskloof had been erected by the Hottentots assisted by two Coloured neighbours. The missionaries then moved to their new home from Zoetemelksvallei.

They immediately commenced teaching the Hottentots and they had an attendance of twenty—five on the first day. It was⁶ not necessary for them to go out and seek Hottentots.^j

In July, 1793 the first baptism took place. At the end of 1794 the congregation consisted of thirty—six baptized persons.⁷) The only major setback at this time occurred in

1795 when the missionaries were ordered, by the insurgent leader Pisani to leave Baviaanskloof. They retreated to⁸ Cape Town, but soon returned and recommenced their work.⁸)

The British government was generous in the permission and help it gave for the building of a chapel at Genadendal. The first temporary chapel was dedicated in March, 1796. In the years 1799–1800 the church, which was in use till 1692 and could^{seek} over a thousand persons, was erected.

Before this, reinforcements had been sent out. Brother and Sister Kohrhammer arrived in May, 1798, and thus the first woman missionary commenced work at Baviaanskloof. Two years later, Schwinn returned from a visit to Germany to⁹,
together with his wife, Brother and Sister Aulsebrook, and the two brides of Marsveld and Rose, who had been a missionary in Labrador, was sent out to cope with the precarious financial situation, which had arisen on account of the many visitors at Baviaanskloof and Schwinn's confused bookkeeping. When he arrived there were about 130 at the station. Rose was an efficient and vigorous man. His early death in 1805 was a great blow to the mission.⁹) The period of Batavian rule brought steady improvement at Baviaanskloof and in 1806, Governor Janssens suggested the name Genadendal which has since been the name of the first missionary station at

⁵) Afrikanischer Reimatkalender 1948. G.P.S. Trümpelmann
Der Birnbaum von Gnadenhal. p. 57.f.

⁶) Exs. Accs. Journal Bk/f. Nov., 1792–Mch., 1793.

⁷) *ibid.*, Journal Bk/f. 1794.

⁸) G Schneider, *ibid.* p. 134–6.

ibid., p. 152–64 Exs. P. Accs. Journals Bk/f. 1795–1805.

the Cape.¹⁰) The permanent British administration of the Colony since 1806 was es sympathetic. Caledon suggested a new station at Groenekloof in 1808. Kuester and Schmitt sad just arrived and there were thus enough missionaries to start the work there.¹¹) After this, there followed a regular flow of missionaries into the country until in 1611 there were six married Brethren at Genadendal alone.¹²)

N^otrhammer died in. June, 1611 and Kühnel in April, 1613.¹³) The measure of the Brethren's work in this period can be ,gauged from the numbers quoted in the diary for 1612. The congregation then consisted of 676 persons, of 'thorn 296 were communicants, while there were 1073 persons living at Genadendal.¹⁴)

Second Perio d.

visitation of Latrobe, the society's secretary in London, in 1816 had a stimulating effect on the mission. **It was during** his visit that the overseers' or 'opzieners' conference was established and the Rules and regulations formulated which were to play so important a part in the secular administration of , Genadendal.¹⁵ .t was due to his insight tat the able Hans Peter Hellbeck was entrusted with the task of leading the mission in South Africa.

hallbeck reached Genadendal early in 1318 and immediately commenced labouring, vigorously for the expansion of the mission. four more stations were founded during his period of office (1818), Him (1824) - to relieve the con-¹⁶ gestion at Genadendal - Shiloh (1823), and Clarkson (1839).¹⁶)

at concerns us here are the improvements which hallbeck initiated at Genadendal in the educational and administrative field. he was mainly responsible for l.l.e establishments of **the infant** school (1831) and the training School (1338).

Durin_g his term of office the rules and regulations were revised and approved of bi_g the Governor. In the main they remained unaltered from 1827 till 1892. In 1638 the emanci-

10) Papers Relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Inhabitants of Southern Africa in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Part I. Extracts from Notes of P.B. Borchard

11) Periodical Accounts of the Missions of the United Brethren. LII: Letter from Kühnel, G., 12th Jan., 1808; LIV: Diary of Genadendal, Jan. - Feb., 1808.

12) *ibid.*, LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811.

13) *ibid.*, LXIII: Diary G., Aug., 1810 - Jan., 1811; LXIX: Diary G., Jan., - Apl., 1813.

14) *ibid.*, LXVI: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1812.

15) C.I. Latrobe, Journal of Visit to South Africa, p. 389-90.

16) L.R. Schmidt, Die Broederkerk, p. 8.

pation of the slaves affected Genadendal. Hallbeck was responsible for the admittance of many freed slaves. **Au** steered the mission of the United brethren through the troubled waters of the days of Dr. Philip in such a manner that there were few if any, outbursts by the colonists against the Brethren, although Hallbeck personally held much the same views as Dr. Philip.¹⁷) Hallbeck¹⁸ also showed his vision by commencing services at outposts.) with the death of Hallbeck on the 25th, November, 1840, a period of steady, vigorous improvement **in** Genadendal came to an end. The congregation at the end of 1840 numbered 2,187 souls, of whom 693 were communicants.¹⁹)

Third Period

Brother C.L. Teutsch took over Hallbeck's work and inaugurated a period of consolidation. During his time the congregation gradually increased until at his death and the succession of Kölbing in 1852 the number of 3,000 had been reached. This seemed to be the saturation point of Genadendal for thirty years later the number was approximately the same.^{20N}) Doubts as to the legality of the rules and regulations, opposition of a section of the residents to the missionaries and the effects of the increasing power of the colonists in the Cape government began to make themselves felt.') into this period also falls the visitation of Genadendal by Bishop B. Breutel, who arrived in 1853.²²) In 1858 Genadendal was granted a legal title recognising it as a 'grant station' held in trust for the Coloured inhabitants by the Superintendent.²³)

Fourth :period.

With the succession in 1861 of Brother F. *. Kühn as Superintendent,²⁴) Genadendal was fairly set on the road towards independence from the mission Directory in Europe.

17) Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlement) together with Minutes of Evidence. (Hallbeck) 1836. exs. -. Aces. Hallbeck, 9th Jul., 1834.

Nchr. ., 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1339.

19) *ibid.*, 1. 1843: Ber. Gs, 1640.

20) r. Aces. CCXIX 1853: C. A. Kölbing, G., 13th Jan., 1853. Nchr., 4. 1890: Ber. Gs, 1888.

¹) k. Aces. CCX 1851: C.L. Teutsch, G., 5A1 Wt., 1850.

²²) *ibid.*, CCXX/II 1854: C. A. Kölbing, G., 14th Oct., 1853. Nchr., 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

³) e. Accs. CXL 1858: C.R. Kölbing, G., 15th May, 1858.

²⁴) *ibid.*, CVLili 1861: B. Marx, G., 13th Jun., 1861.

Men Kühn departed for Europe in 1865 to take up an appointment on the Mission Board, Bechler succeeded him as Superintendent.²⁵) He continued the policy already commenced in the previous period and which Kühn had accentuated in the foundation of Berea, viz., that of decentralisation.²) The work at the outstations of Twistwyk, Greyton and Kopjes Kasteel now became even more important. Towards the end of this period the missionary policy had to adapt itself to the emergence of an industrial migratory labour force. The missionaries followed the workers from Genadendal into Cape Town and up and down the railway lines.²⁷) With a supreme effort the congregation was able to find the funds necessary to erect a new jubilee Church, inaugurated by Bishop Buchner during his visitation in March, 1893.²⁸) The economy of the community at Genadendal was very precarious in the last decades of the century and the missionaries were desperately trying to find new 'industries' for the community.²⁹) The division of the South African mission field into two separate provinces paved the way towards the independence of the Moravian Church in the Western Cape.³⁰)

This brief historical summary will now be supplemented by a survey of the Moravian methods and the results they achieved.

The aim of the missionaries at Genadendal was to Christianise the Hottentots and this implied civilising them as well, for - in their opinion - the converts had to be gathered together in a community to receive effective religious instruction.³¹) Within a Christian community only was it possible to create the most propitious conditions for their wards to experience a truly personal and individual relation to their Saviour. The methods the Brethren used to achieve this can be grouped under three major heads, the religious care for the individual, the inculcation of Christian principles upon the community, and the actual preaching of the gospel to the inhabitants as a group. After an exposition of these measures the various obstacles hampering

²⁵) P. Aces. CCLXXI 1866: W.F. Bechler, G., 9th Nov., 1865.

26) Nchr., 3. 1868: Ber. Berea, Jun., 1865 - Dez., 1866.

27) *ibid.*, 1. 1888: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1886.

28) P. Aces. 14. 1895. A Red Letter Day for G.

²⁹⁾ Nchr., 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. Jul., 1886.

30) L.R. Schmidt, *Die Broederkerk*, p. 11-12.

3 Select Committee Aborigine, Evidence, hallbeck, 1836.

their effectiveness and the factors facilitating the Christianisation of the detribalised Hottentots will be described.

perhaps the most conspicuous element in the work of these devoted Brethren is the conscientious care they lavished on the individual convert. They have been criticised for this and it is said on account of this that their converts lack strength of character.³²⁾ As soon as the individual joined the community he was immediately put into his station in the hierarchy of church privilege. The lowest rank was occupied by the 'Dew People or 'hehrlinge.³³⁾

They comprised people who had been permitted to reside in the institution but were not yet converted. They were visited individually by the missionaries. As soon as the missionaries were of the opinion that they sincerely wished to embrace the Christian faith, they were considered as candidates for baptism.³⁴⁾ During this period they underwent special instruction and their motives were continually investigated by means of the so called 'speakings'.³⁵⁾ Great caution was exercised in selecting candidates for baptism, as the aim

of the missionaries was to gain sincere converts. Thus by Januarys, 1799 the missionaries had only baptised 114 adults and 85 children, out of a population of nearly 800.³⁶⁾ After the missionaries had satisfied themselves that the candidate truly merited baptism, the test of determining by means of drawing lots, whether Christ approved of the baptism, was carried out. This method was used to determine advancements in church privilege in the beginning.³⁷⁾

General Synod of 1818 no longer considered the drawing of lots to be essential for important decisions.) Children of baptized parents received a different treatment. The

Brethren were not opposed to infant baptism. But since (Christian children were considered unable to benefit by religious instruction, they received the necessary instruction later.³⁹⁾

When the Brethren considered the baptized to be ripe for a

32) J. Stewart, p. 85.

33) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 167-8.

34) P.Accs. LXV: Diary G., Jan.-Jun., 1812.

35) C.I. Latrobe, p. 100; k. Aces. LXVI: Diary G., Jul. - Des., 1812.

36) Exs. k. Acca. Account of laying foundation stone of church, 8th Jan., 1799.

37) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 87.

38) Ad., Schulze, Abriss, p. 133r.

39) Nchr. 2. 1819: Ber. G., 1817.

further advancement in church privilege, he was admitted to the class of the Candidates for Communion. Here again he received special instruction.⁴⁷⁾ There were speakings with him which the missionary and his wife, who reviewed the candidates spiritual life with him reported to the conference of missionaries.⁴¹⁾ When the candidate was considered sufficiently advanced in his experience of the Saviour, he was permitted to partake of the Holy Communion. When the converts had reached this final stage they were by no means exonerated from the strict supervision of their thought and actions. They were still expected to attend the 'speakings'.⁴³⁾ The main criterion for the advancement from one rank to another was not the knowledge of Christian principles or some other external attributes, but the sincerity of the individual's faith, there are instances of persons permitted to attend Communion although unable to speak Dutch.)

The missionaries were always prepared to give individual advice on spiritual matters and the converts with problems were expected to interview them and they did so.⁴⁵⁾ The first three Missionaries were overwhelmed with such visits as all, who attended the services, felt that they had to see the missionaries individually after each service, but this was stopped in May, 1795.⁴⁶⁾ Regular meetings with the various classes were, however, organised in which the emphasis was on conversations between the missionaries and the individual convert, known as 'Speakings'. Such meetings were even organised for the members of the congregation who had been deprived of their church privileges but were still living in the institution.⁴⁷⁾ Besides 'class speakings' there were fairly frequently so called 'general speakings' when every member of the congregation was spoken to indi-

⁴⁰⁾ G. Latrobe, p. 100ff.

⁴¹⁾ Missionary Register, Oct., 1820: Diary G., Jan. - Jun. 1819.

^{42) Nchr} . 6. 1821: her. G., Jan. - ai, 1819.

⁴³⁾ P. Aces. Diary G., Aug., 1810 - Jun., 1811; Nchr. 2. 1839: tier. (h, 1836; C.I. Latrobe, p. 132.

⁴⁴⁾ P. Aces. LXV. Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1812.

⁴⁵⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 101; k. Aces. al: Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1812; Exs. k. ACCS. Journal (h, 1795.

⁴⁶⁾ Exs. r. Aces. Journal G., 1795.

⁴⁷⁾ P. Aces. LIV: Diary G., Jan. - Feb., 1808.

⁴⁸⁾ e.g. Nchr. 3. 1845: Bar. G., 1842, 2. 1854: her. 4. Jan. - Jun., 1852; Exs. P. Aces. Journal G., 1795.

vidually.⁴⁸⁾ In the beginning it was possible to reach every member of the congregation in this manner but in 1857 only about a thousand attended.⁴⁹⁾ The 'speaking' classes were divided according to sex, the Brethren speaking to the men and the Sisters to the women. When Sister Kohrhammer arrived in Lay, 1798, she immediately took up the duty of speaking to the women of the congregation individually.⁵⁰⁾ The missionaries visited members of the congregation, especially when these requested it. They were thus often present at the death of members of the congregation.⁵¹⁾

As the number of inhabitants increased it was found necessary to adapt this system, although the principle of strict individual care was maintained. In 1658 the community was divided into a number of sections and a Brother and his wife were made responsible for each section. By this method more frequent visits to individuals in their homes could be made.⁵²⁾ In December 1666 this system was further improved upon. Genadendal was divided into five districts. To the duties of a Brother and his wife in charge of a district, which so far had been restricted to visiting and comforting the sick was now added the responsibility for conducting the 'general speaking' as well as the class 'speaking'. The reform increased the amount of individual attention received by (each member of the congregation.) In the individual care of souls the missionaries to some extent made use of assistants from among the inhabitants who were called chapel-servants. They had the duty of admonishing individuals and reproving them for blameworthy conduct. They had also to visit the sick. Hallbeck considered these untrained assistants of no great value.⁵⁴⁾ In spite of Hallbeck's opinion untrained assistants continued to be employed. In 1680 women Bible readers were appointed with the special duty of taking the word of God to the sick and aged. They were further expected to visit people who had left off attending the services. The missionaries, however, had no

48) e.g. Nchr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842, 2. 1854: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1852; "accs. 1). *cos. Journal G., 1795.

49) Nchr. 6.-1858: Jan. - Okt., 1857.

50) EXs. P. Accs. Journal G., May - Jun., 1798.

51) e.g. Has. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1799, Journal Sklf. 1801; Nchr. 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

52) Nchr. 4. 1860: Bar. G., Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858.

53) *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

54) *Firs.* 2. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 10th Jan., 1834; Appendix A, 11, 12.

greet faith in the success of this measure.⁵⁵⁾ Another instance of untrained assistance was of more promise. Between 1843 and 1894, Stephan Prins, a chapel-servant, journeyed up and down along the new railway line between Worcester and Kimberly, to care for the souls of the Genadendalers who had found work there. Ark Absalom volunteered to continue the work after his death.⁵⁶⁾

The Brethren realised that it would be necessary to teach the Hottentots and Coloureds to run their community on Christian lines, if their painstaking work with individuals was to have any lasting effect. For this reason the congregation was divided according to the station of the various individuals into groups or 'choirs' of children, young men, young women, married people, widows and widowers.

Separate meetings were held with 'Leese groups and the general speakings' were based on these divisions.⁵⁷⁾ In the meetings the missionaries instructed the various groups in the principles according to which they should lead their lives in a Christian family and in a Christian community. Parents and guardians of children for instance, were admonished when they had not fulfilled the obligations towards their dependents.⁵⁸⁾ Special care was taken in exhorting the single women as they were considered to be particularly liable to temptation.⁵⁹⁾ These choirs held group festivals, every year. The accounts mention the children's festival fairly frequently.⁶⁰⁾ Before each festival there was usually a 'speaking'.⁶¹⁾ They could be postponed or cancelled as punishment of a certain group.⁶²⁾ They served as an inducement for children to come to school as only those were permitted to take part who had attended school. The men were sometimes persuaded to perform work for the congregation after such a festival.⁶⁴⁾

⁵⁵⁾ Nchr. 8. 1381: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1880.

⁵⁶⁾ Aces. No. 546 1885 Diary G., 1884 1883, No. 549 1885 Diary G., Jul., 1884 - Jul., 1885, No. 22 1895 notes from the western Province; Nchr. 5. 1885: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1334.

⁵⁷⁾ Latrobe, p. 101; Lehr. 6. 1358: Ber. G., Jan. - Okt., 1857

⁵⁸⁾ 1. Accs. LVIII: Diary U., Jan. - Spt., 1809, LXX.: Diary G., May - June., 1813; Velar. 1. 1631: Ber. G., 1828.

⁵⁹⁾ Nchr. 1. 1825: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1823.

⁶⁰⁾ e.g. F. Acts. CXCV 1847: Diary G., 1845.

⁶¹⁾ Nchr. 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

⁶²⁾ ibid., 5. 1640: Ber. G., 1838.

⁶³⁾ ibid., 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1834.

⁶⁴⁾ ibid., 1. 1823: Ber. G., Apr. - Spt., 1821.

A further method of inducing the community to live according to Christian principles was the formation, in the middle of the Nineteenth Century, of societies such as the Missionary Association, Bible Associations,⁶⁵⁾ and Young Men's and Women's Associations.⁶⁶⁾ The Missionary Association tried to induce its members to support missionary work outside Genadendal with both prayer⁶⁷⁾ and pence. The Young Men's and Women's Associations were formed with the aim of strengthening the Christian character of their members and of imparting useful knowledge. Their subscriptions were to be used for the purchase of books and the support of the sick and needy. All associations were accepted with a certain amount of enthusiasm at first, but interest in them soon waned. For instance, the membership of the Missionary Society, dropped from 332 in 1845 to 263 in 1848 because their subscriptions were not paid.⁶⁸⁾ In 1866, when it is mentioned for the last time its membership was 37.⁶⁹⁾ The Young men's and Women's Associations had, like the Missionary Association, a low subscription of three pence per month.⁷⁰⁾ They are mentioned in the accounts only once, at their inception; hence they cannot have existed for long and had to be re-established in the twentieth Century. The associations were an attempt to enrich the Christian life of the Inhabitants of Genadendal. Two reasons may be suggested for their failure. They were thrust upon the members by the missionaries, not spontaneously developed; and the spiritual life of the community, seems not to have been developed enough to ensure their survival. There are two associations, however, which still exist, the two burial societies. They were formed in the last decade of the Nineteenth century and the first decade of the Twentieth Century.

In 1802 the congregation was asked to contribute a certain amount towards some articles needed for the proper performance of divine service. The first subscriptions were at the rate of one shilling per person per annum. At first the members of the congregation were so eager to pay that a

65) Accs. CCII 1849: D.W. Suhl, G., 31st Aug., 1848.

66) *ibid.*, 1361: Diary G., 1860.

67) Achr. 1. 1848: Ber. 0., 1845.

68) *ibid.*, 6. 1843: Ber. G., 1846, 1. 1850: Ber. 0., 1848.

69) *ibid.*, 11. 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

70) *ibid.*, 1. 1862: Ber. G., 1860.

⁷¹⁾ Information from Rev. L.R. Schmidt.

) Information from Rev. L.R. Schmidt.

shilling had to be given to the needy out of the poor box so that they too were able to pay their contribution. The missionaries observed that:

support a common interest, which surely all must feel, in providing the means of meeting together to worship God in fellowship."")

14 these means the missionaries attempted to make the congregation realise that it was a unit and had a corporate responsibility.

also ensured that members came to feel a responsibility for the church building, the centre of corporate life of the congregation. The need for a church **was** felt very soon but only after the Cape was occupied by the British in 1795 could a chapel and later a fairly large church be erected. The church, as all the buildings on the 'werft', was erected **with** the help of the Hottentots and was completed and consecrated in January, 1800.⁷⁵⁾ It is described **by a** visitor in the following words:

"...die Kirche, ein einfaches, massives Viereck von etwa 100 Fuss im Quadrat, an weichen jedoch

Dach nicht gefallen, wodurch man dem Gebäude eine anständige Höhe hat geben wollen. Innen stehen zwei Reihen Menken und ein einfacher Predigtstuhl, alles so wie die Wände, die Pfeiler, Thüren und die Emporkirche von der grössten Einfachheit, aber derb, in guten Verhältnissen und reinlich gearbeitet. Das Gebälk ist alles von Gelbholz, dessen angestrichene Farbe und Politur dem Gebäude ein sehr sauberes Ansehen giebt...)

It was designed to seat over a thousand people but on certain occasions it proved too small for the throng of worshippers.

After having been used for almost a century it had to be replaced. In 1803 the congregation commenced collecting

73) Aces. Diary G., Mch. Spt., 1802.

74) e. ibid., Journal Bk. 1795, Journal Bk. Jul.-Dec. 1798.

75) ibid., Journal Bk. Jul., 1799 - Jan., 1800.

76) H. Lichtenstein: Reisen in südlichen Afrika in den Jahren 1803, 1804, 1805 und 1806. Berlin, 1811. Vol. I. p. 248-9. (...the church, a simple, massive building 100 feet square, was spoiled externally by the slightly too **sharp** gable and the too steep roof added to the buildings to give it a more impressive height. Inside stand two rows of benches and an unassuming pulpit. All, such as the walls, the columns, doors, and the raised gallery of the greatest simplicity, but strong, in good condition and neatly built, the timber is all, yellow-wood, that gives the building a tidy appearance with its pleasing colour and polish...)

money for a new church.⁷⁷⁾ With the help of friends from overseas the sum of £3100 was raised by 1893, of which the congregation itself had collected £1225. It also net the debt of A.:338 which remained after the church had been built. Brother Hettasch was both architect and supervisor of the building operations. **He** worked with the help of two

Genadendal- carpenters, a German mason, a German *ship's* careenter, mid about 40 **labourers** from the villa .e who came every day. The church which seats 1400 people was inaugurated by the visiting Bishop Buchner on the 15th, march, 1693.⁷⁸⁾

frequent services conducted within the church, were based on those traditional in the congregations of the United Brethren. In March, 1793, the first instructions in the scriptures were inaugurated commencing one hour before sunset.⁷⁹⁾ any more were added on until in 1892, there was a service practically every evening of the week.

The order of services was as follows: On
Tuesday evening Old Testament exposition, on
Wednesday a singing meeting, on Thursday a service for
the native assistants, both male and female, ...
On Friday evening there was exposition of the
New Testament, and on Saturday another singing
meeting, at which the naive teacher ^{ear} pre-
sided and offered an edifying prayer.⁴⁾

in 1860 a morning prayer was introduced. It was very well attended even in unpleasant weather.⁸¹⁾ men and women sat in separate sections of the church during all services.⁸²⁾

The most important day for religious services though, was of course 'Sunday. In 1832 they were livened up by an organ presented by a lady in France, who had visited Genadendal.⁸³⁾ The Sunday services were described by a visitor In the early Sixties in the following way:

"I found the religious services very, edifying.
in the forenoon, after the instruction for the
candidates for baptism, the church litany was prayed
in the course of which certain passages were sung,
the organ being played by a pupil of the Training-School. **The** congregation then dispersed for a short
time, and afterwards reassembled for the sermon,

77) .Aces. No. 546 1885: Diary G., 1E83 and 1884.

78) *ibid.*, to 14. 1893: A sled better **Day** for G.

79) *exs.* P. Aces. Journal **boy.**, 1792-Mch., 1793.

80) ACCS . 110. 13. 1893 Visitation by Brother Buchner.

81) N hr. 1. 1852: Ber. G., 1860.

82) C.1. Latrobe, p. 90; D. Fairbridge, Letters from the Cape by Lade Duff Gordon. 1937. p. 104-5; J. Backhouse, A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa. 1844. p. 97.

⁸³⁾ Behr. 6. 1834: **Ber. G., 1832.**

which I had been requested to deliver. ... In the afternoon, two adults were baptized. One of the missionaries delivered a suitable address, after which the Litany appointed for such occasions was read and sure. At the evening

were arranged around the central service which contained the sermon:

'The Predigt' was delivered after more singing, by a missionary cabinet-maker, in Dutch, very ranting, and not very wise: the congregation was singularly decorous and attentive, but did not seem at all excited or impressed... The service lasted three-quarters of an hour, including a short prayer and two hymns.

On the Treat festivals of the Church the special litanies of the United Brethren were performed by the congregation, for instance, the famous Easter Litany sung before sunrise on the burial ground. SG In a similar solemn manner were celebrated the awakening of the little girls at Herrnhut in 1727,⁸⁸) and the Mission Festival.)

The first native assistant to officiate at a service was Ezechiel Pfeiffer who in 1851 held the evening service. The congregation was very impressed.⁸⁹)

There were two main motives for extending missionary activity to outstations beyond the confines of Genadendal. The first was that the missionaries increasingly felt that there existed a need for serving the surrounding country. The second reason was that the missionaries feared that the numerous labourers outside Genadendal would decline in spiritual matters if they lost contact with the congregation. Bishop Hallbeck was the first missionary to conceive the idea of serving the labourers on neighbouring farms whose owners allowed the Brethren to hold services there. In Lay, 1839 Hallbeck preached for the first time on the farm Matjesgat. Its owner, a Mr. Grönewald, was a sincere Christian and a great friend of the Brethren.⁹⁰) Another similar outstation

³⁴) A. Aces. CCLXI 1863: Description of G., by rev. J. Murray.

⁸⁵) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 106.

⁶) ix. 2. Aces. Journal Bklf. 18U1.

⁸⁷) P. Aces. LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811.

⁸⁸) Chr . 1. 1852: Bee. G. Jul. - Dec., 1850.

⁸⁹) P. Aces. CCXI 1851: D.W. Suhl, G., 12th Feb., 1851. One of the Overseers, John Ruyter said: "The word of our late Brother Hallbeck has now become true, that we should one day be reproved by teachers of our own nation."

⁹⁰) Chr . 5. 1841: Der. G., 1839.

was founded at Kopjes asteel, where a chapel, was completed in 1841.⁹¹⁾ The most important of this type of out-station was Twistwyk, the farm of Commandant Linde. A chapel was inaugurated there in July, 1853.⁹²⁾ The work at these places was liable to be interrupted when a farm changed hands.⁹³⁾

From 1803 when Kührhammer and his wife, at the request of Governor Janssens, proceeded to the camp for hottentot soldiers at Wynburg among whom were many from Genadendal,⁹⁴⁾ the Brethren took it upon themselves to follow members wherever they were driven by economic necessity. When Coloureds were no longer employed as soldiers members used to leave the institution during harvest time and in famine years. They dispersed over such a large area that it was difficult for the missionaries to work among them effectively. When, rail and road construction commenced in the last three decades of the nineteenth century and towns and mines began to exercise their pull on the floating labour force at Genadendal, the missionaries found it easier to follow them as they were concentrated on the railway lines and urban areas. The first step in this branch of missionary work was made in the pastoral tours of the chapel-servant, Ste-phan Prins, mentioned above.⁹⁵⁾ The missionaries chose a Coloured man because it was cheaper for him to travel and he could devote more time to his work. But they themselves were not averse to do this exacting work. Brother Hettasch for instance, undertook similar tours and travelled as far as Kimberley.⁹⁶⁾ A further step in this direction was the establishment of the church in Cape Town at Moravian mainly for inhabitants of Genadendal who had found work there.

The station known as Beet, had a special status. It was situated on Genadendal land and had a resident missionary. The founding of Bera was due to the congestion at Genadendal. In 1864, the Brethren realised that a systematic settlement

91) Nchr. 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839, 2. 1844: Ber. G., 1841.

92) *ibid.*, 4. 1851: Ber. G., Jan-Jun., 1850, 4. 1855: Ber. G., Jan. - Spt., 1853.

93) *ibid.*, 6. 1857: Ber. Gs, Jul. - Dez., 1865.

94) 11103. v. Aces. Diary Bklf. May, 1805 - Nov., 1804.

95) F. Aces. No. 346 Diary G., 1884 and 1883.

96) . 1. 1888: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1886

97) *ibid.*, note 96 above.

in the neighbouring valley, settled against their will at first, it relieve to overcrowding. a house and a chapel were erected at Berea and a missionary was posted there.⁹⁸⁾ in October, 1855 the chapel was consecrated by the first missionary Brother B. liar'.⁹⁹⁾ The visiting Brother Buchner did not think that Berea merited the full time attention of a healthy man. in consequence the resident missionary often held an additional office.¹⁰⁰⁾

On outstations the method of instructing tee members and the care of the community was identical with that in Genadendal, although on a smaller scale.¹⁰¹⁾ 'Speakings' were held at all outstations. As soon as possible naive school teachers from the .raining School were posted to them. They usually did a certain amount of religious work.¹²⁾

A number of factors hampered the application of these methods. These factors derived mainly from the mentality of the Hottentots. Idle problem of language, one of the difficulties in missionary work generally, was not important. Lost of the Hottehtots had¹⁰³⁾ learned to speak some Dutch when the missionaries arrived. j In the beginning there were only a fey people who did not know Dutch,¹⁰⁴⁾ besides some members of tee Bent tribes.¹⁰⁵⁾

ore serious as than the language problem wits the character development of some Hottentots under European contact. Soon the missionaries noticed that some of them, ...having been some time among the white people, have learnt to talk religiously but are net al- to be trusted

he missⁱonaries found it hard in such cases to determine whether the motives for conversion were genuine.¹⁰⁶⁾ Even hallbeck, who was very sympathetic towards the Hottehtots,¹⁰⁷⁾ criticises them for their lack of energy of mind, inability

98) k. Aces. CCLXVI 1865: *F.W. Kühn*, 16th Spt., 1864 and *Diary G.*, Jan. <lam., 1865.

99) . 6. 1867: *Ber. G.*, Jul. - Dee., 1865.

) P.Acs. 140. 18 1894: visitation of Br. Buchner.

)chr . 6. 1858: *Ber.* (... Jan. - Okt., 1857.

102) *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1862: *Ber. G.*, 1861.

103) . P. Aces. *Journal Bklf. Loy.*, 1792 - Mch., 1793.

104) *ibid.*, *Journal rk1.t.* 1801.

) P. Aces. /Da: *Diary G.*, Jan. - Jun., 1812.

¹⁰⁶⁾ exs. e. Aces. *Journal Bklf.* 1799.

¹⁰⁷⁾) Select committee, *Aborigine, Evidence*, hallbeck, 1836.

to persevere **awl** their lack of independence of character. But he adds:

...in all probability a great variety of unfavourable circumstances have combined to produce this evil, and that for this very reason the cure is one of considerable difficulty.")

the missionaries fully realised that they had come to a socially backward people, whose faults were a result of the conditions they lived in. the missionaries also found that harvest workers were prone to "fall into sin, one reason being that the labourers were temporarily released from the supervision at Genadendal.¹⁰⁹⁾

Certain factors, however, facilitated work among the Hottentots and partially explain the success of the Brethren. any of the Hottentots told the missionaries that they had heard about Christianity from their European Masters. The Brethren thus occasionally built on foundations laid by others.¹¹⁰⁾ In addition, no resistance was offered to Christian teaching by the traditional religion of the Hottentots. It had lost its hold on them and their tribal system had broken down. The captains, who played a certain role in early Genadendal society were probably only 'kraal' headmen.¹¹¹⁾ they were also susceptible to the highly emotional appeal of the teachings of the first three Brethren. Not only the first journals, but neutral observers like Barrow¹¹²⁾ mention the flowing of tears in the congregation.)

The system of church discipline at Genadendal played an important part in the methods of the Brethren. To understand it a short account of the structure of the congregation is indicated. the affairs of the congregation were controlled by the missionaries and a Kerkraad, whose members were called chapel-servants. it was primarily concerned with administration of spiritual matters,¹¹³⁾ and the care of church property such as the poor **money**. But they had also

¹⁰⁸⁾ Papers relative to Natives. Brief Sketch of **the Origin** .progress and present State of the Missions of the United Brethren in the Colony of the Cape of Good hope. Hennepeck, 1823.

¹⁰⁹⁾ P. Aces. LXIX: Diary 4., Jan. - Apr., 1813; Lehr. 2. 1354: Tier. G., Jan. - Jun., 1852.

110) e.g. P. Aces. Diary G., Jan. - Spt., 1809.

111) G.1. Latrobe, pp. 398-403.

112) G. Schneider, G. p. 76, J. Barrow, Travels into the Interior of southern Africa. vol. 1. p. 310-11.

113) Appendix A, III, 3, 4, 9, 12.

secular duties which resembled those of the 'opsieners' (overseers) who formed part of the civic administration of the community. In practice there was therefore an overlap of functions and because of this, chapel-servants and 'opsieners' had common meetings. ¹¹⁴)

in 1827 the Kerkraad consisted of fourteen chapel-servants later increased to eighteen. ¹¹⁵) in fact the missionaries retained most of the spiritual and secular power, ¹¹⁶) and were always in a position to exert pressure on individual members of the kerkraad. The missionaries, who met every day at table, discussed matters pertaining to the congregation. ¹¹⁷) They were the final authority enforcing church discipline. ¹¹⁸) moreover, the missionaries appointed the members of the Kerkraad and had power to dismiss them for scandalous conduct which involved their expulsion from the congregation. ¹¹⁹)

The post of chapel-servant was not exclusively held by men and in the very earliest journals female chapel-servants are mentioned. ¹²⁰) The chapel-servants were always communicants and were the most fervent Christians in the judgement of the Brethren. ¹²¹) The duties of the chapel-servants can be divided into those concerning the spiritual life of the congregation and the church property and their duties as 'opzieners'. here, only the former will be discussed. The first chapel-servants were appointed to assist the missionaries in minor duties such as keeping order during services, providing for lighting up the church at evening services and similar responsibilities. ¹²²) Later their duties became more numerous. They took part in the comforting of the sick and other pastoral duties, ¹²³) as we have already seen. Latrobe's impression was that the chapel-servants of both sexes served in the true Christian manner. ¹²⁴)

¹¹⁴) Appendix A, III, 2, 12, 13.

¹¹⁵) *ibid.*, LU, 2.

¹¹⁶) *ibid.*, III, *passim*.

¹¹⁷) B. Aces. No. 13. 1893: Visitation of Br. Buchner.

¹¹⁸) Appendix A, iLL, 5, 6.

¹¹⁹) *ibid.*, III, 15.

¹²⁰) P. Accs. LVIII: Diary G., Jan. Spt., 1809.

¹²¹) h. Lichtenstein, 1. p. 251-2.

¹²²) r. Aces. Diary tr., 1799.

¹²³) r. Aces, Diary G., Riau. - Spt., 1809; Appendix A, III, 12.

¹²⁴) C.I. Latrobe, p. 101.

At the beginning of the year the missionaries had conferences with the kerkraad to remind them of their duties.

These conferences were originally only held to inform the kerkraad of important matters, changes or improvements.¹²⁵) The annual meetings were started by the chapel-servant themselves in 1809.

"Our chapel-servants assembled of their own accord in the avenue leading to the burying ground, to speak with each other about the occurrences of the past year, as they related to their spiritual course. The men sat down on one, and the women on the other side. They began, concluded their conversation with a hymn.")

By 1813 they had developed into regular meetings with the missionaries.¹²⁷)

After the introduction of the office of 'opzieners' the meetings became more frequent.

"Um diese Zeit bezeugten uns die Aufseher und Saal-diener den Wunsch, dass ihnen Gelegenheit möchte gegeben werden, zuweilen zusammen zu kommen, um über die verschiedenen Vorkommnisse in der Gemeinde, die auf ihr Amt und ihren Auftrag Bezug haben, mit einander sprechen zu können."

In 1826 it was therefore decided to have a meeting every month with both the 'opzieners' and the kerkraad.¹²⁸)

It is laid down in the Rules and Regulations that the church discipline was to be administered by the missionaries alone.¹²⁹) It is difficult to distinguish between pure church discipline and the discipline of the settlement, although the government attempted to draw a distinction in 1850.¹³⁰) The actual punishment consisted of a reprimand either given privately or before the assembled missionaries, exclusion from church privileges before the missionaries or before the assembled congregation and finally expulsion from the station.¹³¹) These measures were mainly employed in order to combat vice and immorality. Occasionally, however, they were employed to inculcate the true principles of Christian doctrine. Once a communicant was excluded from the

¹²⁵) exs. P. Aces. Journal Bk1f. 1799.

¹²⁶) t. Aces. ea.: Diary G., Spt. 1809.

¹²⁷) ¹²⁸) ¹²⁹) ¹³⁰) ¹³¹)

) Fehr, 2. 1528: Ber. G., 2^{te} an. März, 1626. (During this time the overseers and the chapel-servants expressed the wish that an opportunity be given them to meet occasionally, to discuss the events in the community related to their mission and their office.)

¹²⁹) Appendix A. III, 5, 8.

¹³⁰) ¹³¹) ¹³²)

) ¹³³) ¹³⁴) ¹³⁵)

Lord's Supper because of her inveterate hatred of another person. She concurred with the judgement of the missionaries as she felt that, though she had forgiven her enemy she as yet did not love her. 132) A person who had been excluded or even expelled from G^enadendal could always be rehabilitated if he proved by his conduct that he was worthy of consideration, showed sincere repentance and confessed his faults.¹³³) Members under discipline, unless expelled, were still cared for by the missionaries who had meetings with them.¹⁵⁴) Exclusion was surprisingly effective. Backhouse and Hallbeck record that the individuals concerned were deeply affected.¹³⁵) On the whole, however, persuasion was the most important means of maintaining order in the congregation. Lichtenstein is correct in saying:

"Es ist wirklich zum Erstaunen, dass dies alles ohne Zwangsmittel durch bloße Ermahnung bewerkstelligt werden können. Sie kennen durchaus keine andere Strafe, als Ausschliessung von den Gottesdienst und Verbannung aus der Gemeinde, und auch dazu schreiten sie selten und nur, wenn ein ganz verderbtes Subjekt wiederholte Ermahnungen kein Gehör geben will. 136)

Besides these individual punishments there were cases where the missionaries inflicted joint punishment on Groups. They might postpone the holding of Communion,¹³⁷) or cancel the celebration of the festivals of the single Brethren and Sisters.¹³⁸) In 1798 the missionaries even threatened to leave the Hottentots altogether if they did not improve their behaviour.¹³⁹)

The results the three original missionaries achieved were surprising. They themselves were elated at the eager-

132) P. Aces. TAXI: Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810.

133) Appendix A. III, 7, II, 31; Exs. P. Aces. Journal Bklf. 1795.

154) J. K. ACCS. f1Y: Diary G., Jan. - Feb., 1808.

155) J. Backhouse, p. 98; Miss. Reg. Jan., 1822: Hallbeck 23rd Jan., 1821.

135) n. Lichtenstein, Vol. I. p. 251. (It is really surprising, that all this was achieved without coercion, by simple admonition. The missionaries know no other form of punishment except exclusion from the services and expulsion from the congregations, but these are seldom used, only when a completely depraved person takes no notice of repeated warnings.)

137) = B. 4. Aces. Journal Bklf. 1801.

138) h chr., 1. 1849: Ber. G., 1843.

1A) Ss. 1). ACCS. Journal Bklf. May - Jun., 1798.

cross with which Hottentots flocked to Baviaanskloof.¹⁴⁰)
 A Cape Town friend wrote on the 25th January, 1795, that he
 counted 15e hearers at every meeting he attended.¹⁴¹) In
 1801 the missionaries reported that the people were eager
 to be baptized or admitted to lioly Communion, and that those
 not promoted in church privilege used to shed tears.^{142\}

Thus after only six years of work ther=e were an estimated
 705 people on the station.¹⁴³)

she number in the congregation increaces steadily till
 about 1860, when *there* were just 200 below the 3,0u0 mark.
 An exception to this steady increase came between 1822 and
 1826 when Genadendal underwent severe hardships due to bad
 harvests and a general economic depression in the Cape. The
 number of communicants showed a similar steady increase,
 again with the exception of the years 1622-26. In 1861 it
 reached its peak with over a thousand communicants.

414e rate of increase it should be noted **was** not uniform.
 it accelerated after 1638 when the emancipated slaves joined
 the settlement. The group most affected by the emancipation
 of the slaves was the baptism class, welch in 1835 comprised
 52 candidates, **whereas in** 1539 it had increased to three
 Limes that number.

of ter 1860, however, there was a steady decrease. she
 congregation was reduced to 1,875 souls thirteen years later.
 After 1673 there was again a rise until in 1668 tee figure
 too thousand **was** topped. The class of candidates for bap-
 tism correspondingly dropped to 39 **in** 1873, but rose to 138
 in 1888, in spite of the fact that Genadendal was then no
 longer an important missionary centre.¹⁴⁴)

attendance at the services in proportion to the num-
 ber of the congregation was greater in the early part of the
 century than later. **In an** evening service, attended by
 Latrobe, 400 attended.¹⁴⁵) hallbeck estimated that three
 quarters of those at home and not hindered b_y sickness or

¹⁴⁰⁾ x. 9. P. Aces. Journal Bklf. Iov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

¹⁴¹⁾ *ibid.*, Short report on the condition of — Dec., 1794 - Jan., 1795.

¹⁴²⁾ *ibid.*, Journal 1801.

¹⁴³⁾ *ibid.*, Kohrhammer, 1st Jul., 1798; Appendix B.

¹⁴⁴⁾ appendix 33; P. Accs. CCXXIVIlil 1870: Diary G., 1869 Jul. - Dec., 11th July: "To-day or the first time after a long period we were rejoiced by the baptism of **an** adult." No. 17 1894: Census returns of Cape: 1891 - 445 heathens in the Caledon district.

²⁴⁵⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 87.

other impediments attended daily either school or at church¹⁴⁵

o attendance of adults at week day services declined after 1860 and in 1878 only 10i adults were present at the 'general speaking.' Attendance improved after 1873 again.¹⁴⁷) Attendance at Sunday services did not fluctuate as much; it was good throughout the cenutry.¹⁴⁸) .he attendance at the &mead services, however, was considerably influenced by the agricultural seasons and the nature and time of the harvest.¹⁴⁹ It vas small in the bad harvest years of 1822 and 1823.) When the harvest was later than usual mile Christmas services were poorly attended, but the New Lear services were generally sell attended. Although a capacious Church had been erected in 1800, the number of worshippers often necessitated separate services elsewhere from 1846 onwards.¹⁵⁰) ay¹⁵¹ 1880 the church no longer satisfied their requirements.) This development is the more striking as au increasing number of inha^bitants¹⁵² were finding 'lark outside Genadendal for lengthy periods.)

the women were far more susceptible to the teachings of the missionaries than the men. One reason for this was, as the missionaries realised themselves, that the men left the set ,lament in order to work.¹⁵³) moreover, in 1807 the missionaries report:

"As for the women, there is a more general desire prevailing to grow in the knowledge and grace of our Saviour."

In 1880 the proportion of women to men in the class of the communicants was three to one, although the number of men was equal to the number of women.¹⁵⁵)

of the visitors to Genadendal were impressed by the attentiveness of the Hottentots and their singing at the

146)) Select committee, Aborigineeee, Hallbeck, 1836.

147)hr . 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 16378; ibid., 1. 1380: Ber. J., Jul. - Dee., 1678.

¹⁴⁸) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 104-5; P. Ater,, 13. 1393: Visitation by Br. Buchner 1092-3; ibid., CCXXIII 1854: J.0. Breutel to the Mission-Board (no date.)

149)) Ncbr. 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr - Dee., 1822; ibid., 5. 1824: Bar. Go, Jan. - &are., 1823.

150) ibid., 6. 1348: 13er. Li., 1846.

151.) F. ACCS. No. 328. 1880: A.G. Lettasch 30th Jun., 1880.

152) Lehr. 9. 1874: ire r. G., Jan. - Jan., 1874.

153) ibid., 7. 1831: Ber. u., Jan-Jun., 188J.

¹⁵⁴) P Accs. LIII: Diary G., Spt. - Dec., law,

155)hr . 7. 1881: Ater. 6., Jan. - Jun., 1830.

services. Lady Anne Barnard describes their interest and their singing in the following words:

"The service began after the Presbyterian form with a psalm. Then indeed the note that raised itself to heaven was an affecting one; about one hundred and fifty Hottentots joined in the twenty-third psalm in a tone so sweet, so loud, but so just and true that it was impossible to hear it without, being surprised.

...Not a Hottentots did I see In this congregation that had a bad passion in the countenance; watched them closely - all was sweetness and attention; I was even surprised to observe so few vacant eyes, and so little curiosity directed to ourselves;...")

In the middle of the nineteenth Century the tone of the services was not quite so ardent. Lady Duff Gordon, writing in 1862, states that

"...the congregation were singularly decorous and attentive, but did not seem at all excited or impressed...

She too was impressed by the singing, and states that the six-hundred people present at the more¹⁵⁶ service

...made music more beautiful than any chorus-singing I ever heard. ¹⁵⁸)

And Brother Buchner adds:-

"On both Sundays attendance at the services was excellent, and the singing splendid, for the people are thoroughly musical and have beautiful voices. A native always presides at the cabinet¹⁵⁹ organ and plays without notes..."))

fervour of Christian belief manifested itself occasionally in what was called 'a religious regeneration', usually of short duration. ¹⁶⁰) Sometimes there were spiritual stirrings in one congregation, from which would emanate prayer unions, ¹⁶¹) and spontaneous singing. ¹⁶²)

the tenor of confession made by converts to the Brethren, shows that many sincerely believed that they had experienced the living Christ. ¹⁶³) Many did not show any fear

¹⁵⁶) 13. J. Anderson, Ed., South Africa a Century Ago (1797-1831). Letters and ten from the Cape of Good Hope & Extracts from a Journal by the Lady Anne Barnard. 1924. p. 180-81.

¹⁵⁷) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 106.

¹⁵⁸) ibid., p. 104.

¹⁵⁹) 2. Aces. No. 13. 1893: visitation by Mr. Buchner.

¹⁶⁰) e.g. ibid., LXIV: Diary G., Jul., 1811 Dec., 1811; ibid., No. 349. 1835: Zee Awakening of the Children at G.,

¹⁶¹) ibid., CCLII 1861: F.W. Kühn G., 19th Mch., 1861.

¹⁶²) ibid., let: Diary G., Jan. - Feb., 1810.

¹⁶³) Nchr. 2. 1839: Ber. G., 1836.

on their death beds.¹⁵⁴) The Brethren admit, however, that a number of their wards were converted genuinely only in the face of death.¹⁶⁵) Hallbeck, writing in 1821 states:

"...that most of the Baptized and Communicants, when tried by affliction, are pattern of Lord.")

Brother Buchner towards the end of the Nineteenth Century reports:

"...what struck me very forcibly, was that when we made visits in the village, all 6140 people and especially the women, at once began spiritual conversation. the people are deeply interested in spiritual things; they have a good degree of religious knowledge, and feel deeply on such matters. They manifest an uncommonly childlike confidence in the religious sphere, and a quick perception of the grace of our Saviour.")

the Brethren were sober minded enough to realize shortcomings in their charges. They complained of occasional hypocrisy. Such complaints increased after 1850.¹⁶⁸) Visiting clergyman refer to the formality of the congregation at Genadendal.¹⁶⁹) Buchner, in the context of the state-just quoted, points out that spiritual interest was not infrequently superficial.¹⁷⁰)

If these were the results of missionary labour it behooves to examine more closely the character of the men and women by whom they were achieved, in general the missionaries of the Unified Brethren were German however, except one such as the eldest of the first three missionaries, Hendrik Marsveld, a Hollander¹⁷²) and the beloved Bishop Hallbeck, who was a Swede by birth.)

emphasis was laid on the practical training of these men. thus Künnel, manufactured the famous Genadendal knives,¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁴

) Near. 3. 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai 1821 1d21.

¹⁶⁵

y P. Accs. Exs P Accs. Journal Bklf. May 1803 - Nov., 1804

¹⁵⁶

) Miss. Reg. Jan., 1822: Hallbeck, 23rd Jan., 1821.

¹⁶³

P. Aces. No, 13. 1893: Visitation of Br. Buchner.

)

e.g. Nchr. 2. 1853: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1851; *ibid.*, 1. 1880: 3er. G., Jul.- Ti., 189,6.

¹⁶⁹ CCLXI

P. Accs. CCLXI 1863: Description of G. by Rev. J. Murray.

¹⁷⁰

) *ibid.*, 14o. 13. 1893: Visitation by r. Buchner.

¹⁷¹

y A. Aces. and Nchr. *passim*.

¹⁷²) Schneider, G., p. 40.

¹⁷³)

. Schneider, Hans Peter Hallbeck. 1925. *Passim*.

¹⁷⁴

y early Anne Barnard, p. 185-6.

beinbrecht supervised the erection of the bridge over the
 Sonderend,¹⁷⁵) and was an expert on rills and
 steamengines. ea 1862 there was one 'studierter
 at Genadendal.¹⁷⁷) The theologians too, were simple,
 diligent men. Hallbeck was described as:

...a plain, simple-hearted Christian, who
 visited the sick, and took his turn in the
 school instructions of ten Hottentot youths..."

According to Schneider, Schwinn's wife was unable to sign 179
 her name on her passport, the only case of illiteracy known.
 From 1848 to 1869 a medical missionary Brother Roser, was
 stationed at Genadendal. He was a fully qualified doctor.
 After Roser had left a missionary who had taken a short
 course in medicine was responsible for the health of the
 community. it was the policy of the Mission Board to have 180
 a man capable of caring for the health of the community.)
 Missionary family life was very much the same

for unmarried missionaries 181
 x they should marry.)
 his practice was kept up until as late as 1802.

"A friend the storekeeper married without Navin
 ever beheld his wife before they met at the al-
 tar, and came on board ship at once with her. he
 said it was as good a way of marrying as any 182
 other, and that they were happy together." >

The Children of such unions, were educated for the first
 few years in one infant school at Genadendal. After that
 they were sent to Europe where many were trained as mission-
 aries 183)

missionaries met at meal time and talked over the
 affairs of the day. the description of these common tales,
 as given by Latrobe in the beginning of the century 4)
 resembles the accounts from the middle until the end of it.

J. Murray says in 1863:

¹⁷⁵

175) Nchr. 1. 1825: Ber. 3., Apr. - Dec., 1823.

) ibid., 9. 1865: Ber. G. Jan - Jun., 1864.

¹⁷⁷) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 136.

¹⁷⁸a) J. Backhouse, p. 58.

¹⁷⁹) H.G. Schneider, G. p. 150-1.

10) Lae. Schmidt, Broederkerk, p. 17; e. Aces.

1847: Kölbing, G., 7th 1.4, y, 1347; ibid., CCXXXI 1856: Roser,
 G. 13th Jet., 1355.

¹⁸¹) exs. z. Aces. reports May 1800.

¹⁸²) Lady Duff (Gordon, p. 106.

¹⁸³) P. Aces. CCXLIV 1859: C.R. Kölbing, 19th May, 1859.

14) Latrobe, D. 92-93.

"About eight of thee reside here with their families, and have in several respects a combined house-keeping. ...they assemble L. ticle a day at a common table in a large test plain dining-roots, on the walls of which hang portraits of Zinzendorf, Schmidt, and other members of the Brethren's Church...)

• And Jacob gives the following description in 1896:

"There are at present sever missionaries now residing at this station, all married... Each

life: but for the two most important semis of the day - dinner at 12 and supper at 6:50 - all meet in the large dining-hall, here they also resemble at 2 o'clock for coffee, when they have a short respite in their busy life and belief opportunity for social intercourse...)

The work of the missionaries was divided in the following manner:
 Each Brother has his

allotted share in the work of preaching the gospel, the care of souls, and school-teaching. Besides this, each takes his part in the secular labour by which the expen-ses of the mission are met. There is a corn-mill which still bring in a little also a smithy, a carpenter shop a drugstore, L printing-officeThirty

years later, conditions had not changed:

"In addition to the direct spiritual portion of the work and the charge of his own district, each of tee brethren is reponsible foe some special department which meets the needs of the col-on - the general store, the mill, the printing-office, the gardens, &c., and the sisters, in addition to the ties of household and family, have each their special ministry Jr. the community.")

All tee missionaries were very much attached to *their* home congregations in Europe. Great events in their lives were Brethren passing through and the European post.¹⁸⁹⁾

The attitude of these missionaries towards the Hottentots and the Coloureds was not over-idealistic. they were rear to admit that the Hottentots had faults but the believed that they were not inherent faults. When they were asked to give their opinion on measurer restricting the freedom of the Hottentots, trey opposed them frankly. But with wise restraints they did not give violent expression to their

¹⁸⁵⁾ P. Accs. CCLXI 1663: Description of Genadendal by he,,
 • Murray.

¹⁸⁶⁾ *ibid.*, No. 27. 1696. A Moravian Settlement - by E. Jacob.

¹⁸⁷⁾ *ibid.*, as for note 185)

¹⁸⁸⁾ *ibid.*, (as for note 166)

¹⁶⁹⁾ ExHallbeckes. Journal .6k1±. 1795; Miss. Reg. April 1821: G., to Latrobe, Sept., 1C20.

view. Hallbeck, for instance, objected to the vagrancy law of 1834 when the civil Commissioner asked him for his opinion. He argued that it not only harmed the Hottentots, but by restricting their movement it caused the farmers inconvenience. Hallbeck believed that the law was unnecessary, especially if the policing of towns was improved and the control of wine shops made more strict.¹⁹⁰) Hallbeck was convinced that the Hottentots were capable of improvement. When they had completed the bridge over the Sonderend, he was overjoyed

"The people have on this occasion, shown a willingness and perseverance, unprecedented in the history of the Hottentots at Nation. The building of a Bridge particularly as a private undertaking, and an undertaking of the Hottentots, is such all uncommon in this Colony, that it is talked of with astonishment from Cape Town to Grahamstown; and will, I trust, silence those, who accuse the Hottentots of incorrigible sloth and stupidity."¹⁹¹)

Hallbeck was also of the opinion that the school-children of Genadendal had the same ability as those in an English

"I think they are just like children in every part of the world, as far as can be judged. There are some of very good capacity some bad."¹⁹²)

Hallbeck, a contemporary of Dr. Wile, was not alone in his championship of the Coloureds. The missionaries at the end of the century were as sympathetic towards the Coloureds. In 1892 the characteristics of the position of the farmers who despise the Coloureds and predict tension between the lower and upper classes within the Cape Colony as they were then developing in Europe.¹⁹³

The close relations between the missionaries and their spiritual charges led to a certain amount of social intercourse. Coloureds served as servants in the European families. Moreover when the missionaries fell ill the Hottentots skilled in the art of healing were called in. Hottentot midwives would take care of the European childbirth.¹⁹⁴) Hallbeck and his wife were prepared to adopt

190) See also Accs Hallbeck, 9th Jul., 1804; Theal, History of the Cape Colony. 1905. Vol. 1. p. 332.

191) is: .Reg. . Jan., Hallbeck, 11th April, 1820.

192) Select Committee, Aborigine Evidence, Hallbeck, 1836.

193) 1901, 4. 1394; Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1892.

194) See also itc. Letter from Hallbeck, 28th Jul. 1824; Nchr. Mârs G 1881.

a Coloured child whose stepmother was neglecting her and who had been handed over to the care of the congregation.¹⁹⁵⁾ The main reason why there were no intermarriage between European missionaries and Coloured (native) church members, probably lay in the fact that the Mission Board sent very few unmarried men and supplied single missionaries with wives.

This sympathetic attitude of the Brethren earned the gratitude of the Hottentots. Their reverence for the missionaries, was not impaired by the fact that these missionaries obeyed the government strictly and did not actively oppose restrictive legislation directed against their charges.¹⁹⁶⁾ When Father Harsveld fell sick in 1820 they

in 1882 everyone in Genadendal attended his funeral.¹⁹⁷⁾

were the men and women who infused into the settlement at Genadendal a Christian attitude to life. Hallbeck was so erect in maintaining that; such an institution could not exist without "...a spirit of Brotherly Love or Charity."¹⁹⁸⁾

¹⁹⁵⁾ Nchr. 1. 1343: Ber G., 1840.

) Vol XXXV, p. 332.

¹⁹⁷⁾ Use. Rcg April 1621: Hallbeck to Latrobe, Jul. - Lu6. et. Spt. 1820 to 11 Jul. 1. 1324. 2, el:'. G., Apr. - Dez. 1822.

¹⁹⁸⁾ CO 102 Answers to Queries Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

The Developement of the Administration of the
 Genadendal Community

missionaries were not only in charge of spiritual matters. Until 1816 they were the only secular authorities. to understand what the missionaries, had to cope with in this respect, one must be acquainted with the number of inhabitants in Genadendal. Ate first estimate of the total number was Oven in the year 1798. The missionaries reckoned that there were cleat 700 people 'ender instruction.¹¹) probably this is ant. underestimate, because in 1799 in an official report on the numbers at Genadendal they state that there are 252 men,² 521 women, and 661 children, i.e., 1234 souls are listed.) After 1803 a decrease set in, because a hundred men were recruited for the Cape Regiment 3.) In 18u7 only 747 persons lived at Genadendal. From 1807 onwards, these was a steady increase to the highest total number which as reached in 1860. There were two fluctuations in this population trend. The bad harvests between 1822 and 1826 retarded the increase. The influx of the slaves after 1836 accelerated it. it December 1838 202 persons ,sere permitted to live at Genadendal,) and in. 1839 a further 430 receive; permission.⁵)

.hi le in 1860 the number of inhabitants Lae reached 3,521, it was reduced to 2,496 in 1870. arum this year onward, however, there was a gradual increase again until in the eighties the number remained static just slightly below three thousand. The figures given in the accounts are not quite accurate, for two reasons: firstly, members of the congregation who tad left the station mere only struck from tee books after a number of years,⁶) and secondly, the missionaries probably often included the men Rho were working outside Genadendal. A census taken in April, 1825 daring the ploughing season, for instance, shows only 922 people, whereas the total number at the end of 1824 had been 1,242.⁷) In 1875 only 2,344 inhabitants were actually counted to be

1) Appendix B for this discussion.

2) P. Aces. Journal Bklf. Jul., 1799 – Jan., 1800.

3) theal, Records, vi. p. 347.

4) Nchr . 5. 1840: Bee. a., 1838.

5) ibid., 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839.

6) ibid., 2. 1844: Ber. 4., 1841.

7) ibid., 1. 1828: Ber. G., 1325.

at Genadendal, but at the end of the year the number was given as 2,726.)

It is more difficult to gain an insight into the racial composition of the population. The basic stock was probably Hottentot, but with accretions from other races. Lichtenstein maintained that the baptised were all 'bastards' ⁹) An early settler at Genadendal whose recollections were included in the accounts for 1851, claimed that her father was a European.¹⁰) then Lady Duff Gordon visited the settlement in the 1860ies, she met the last 'pure' Hottentot who was estimated to be 107 years old. ¹¹)

, any persons who entered the station, and were referred to as 'Hottentots' by the missionaries, were actually half-castes. There were a considerable number of Hottentot women who had illegitimate children by European fathers. Already in 1797 the missionaries complained about the immorality between the Genadendal girls and the dragoons who were posted at Zoetemelksvallei to protect the mission station. ¹²) In 1866 and 1870 the missionaries reported that irresponsible Europeans created disturbances in Genadendal by bringing wine into the village and having dances with inhabitants. ¹³) Two Europeans actually resided in the village and were members of the congregation, ¹⁴) while a third lived with a Coloured girl in irregular marriage and caused the missionaries serious concern.¹⁵)

From 1809 onwards there was also a Bantu element in the population. These 'Caffres' had been ordered out of the Colony by the government. Those who were permitted to stay had to reside at a mission station.) In 1810 one of the first Caffre women, the daughter of a 'captain' was baptized. ¹⁷

^b) Nchr., 1875, 3 Heft: Ber. C., Jan. - Jun., 1875.

⁹) H. Richtenstein, Vol. p. 253.

¹⁰) acts. 1851: recollections of old Hottentot Sister Beetje Robyntje.

¹¹) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 103-4.

¹²) Exs. P. Acts. Journal Bk1f. 1797.

¹³) Nchr. 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866; *ibid.*, 10. 1871: Her. G., 1370.

) *ibid.*, 1. 1850: Ber. G., 1848; *ibid.*, 1. 1855: Ber. G., Spt. Dez., 1853.

¹⁵) *ibid.*, 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

¹⁶) P. Aces. LVIII Diary G., Jan. - Spt., 1809.

) *ibid.*, IX Diary G., 1810.

Always. A few years later Latrobe visited the "Caffre-Kraal" beyond the **River** = Ica was inhabited largely by converted Bantu. One of the baptized women tried to persuade him to establish a mission in 'Caffre-Land' .¹⁸)

second largest racial group was formed by the descendants of the slaves. They were mostly of Bantu and Negroid descent.) In 1848 the ratio of Hottentots to emancipated slave; was estimated to be two to one.¹⁹)

A graphic description of the external appearance of the Coloured at Genadendal is given by Lady Duff Gordon in 1862: "the Hottentots, as they are called - that is, those of mixed Dutch and Hottentot origin (correctly, 'bastaards') - have a sort of blackguard elegance in their gait and figure which is peculiar to them; a mixture of Negro or Mozambique blood alters it altogether. the girls have the elegance without the blackguard look; a slender, most are tall; elegant all have good hands and feet; some few are handsome in the face and many very interesting-looking. The complexion is a pale olive-yellow, and the hair more or less woolly, face flat and cheekbones high, eyes small and bright. These are far the most intelligent - equal, indeed, to whites. A mixture of black blood often gives real beauty, but takes off from the 'air', and generally from the talent; but then the blacks are so pleasant, and the Hottentots are taciturn and reserved. The old women of this breed are the earliest hags ever saw; they are clean and well dressed, and tie up their old faces in white handkerchiefs like corpses, ... they are)

It was the general practice in all the settlements of the United Brethren to have a set of rules and regulations determining both the spiritual and temporal conduct of the community.²²) The Genadendal code of rules is first mentioned in the accounts in 1803. Discharged Hottentot soldiers had to agree to it before they were permitted to reside in the village.²³) In 1809 communicants were debarred from partaking of holy Communion when they transgressed the regulations relating to the purchase of alcohol by village-

18 C.I. Latrobe, pp. 94-97.

¹⁹) Neer. 1. 1849: Überblick über das Missionenwerk der Brüdergemeine. 1836-48.

²⁰) 5990 ecclesiastical return for 1848 ended 31st Dec., 1848.

²¹) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 105-6.

²²) C.I. Latrobe, pp. 390.

²³) 1. Aces. Diary Bk. 1. bay, 1803 - Nov., 1804.

ere.²⁴) When Latrobe visited Genadendal he was requested to revise them in the light of comments received from the Missionaries and the rules in force in European settlements of the Unitas Fratrum.²⁵)

these 'codified' rules of 1816 formed the basis of the revised Rules and Regulations of 1827 which were the work of Hallbeck and the missionaries, with, the help of the 'opzieners' and chapel-servants. After they had been read out to and approved of by the assembled men of the settlement a Dutch and an English copy were sent to Governor Bourke, who strongly approved of them.²⁵)

When in 1858 the Superintendent received the title which granted the Genadendal lands to him in trust for the Hottentots,²⁷) he also received the new regulations revised by the government. These regulations of 1858 embodied three chapters of the revised Rules and Regulations of 1827. A fourth chapter was added which provided firstly, that the civil administration of Genadendal should be strictly separated from the administration of the congregation, and secondly that the number of inhabitants should be limited to three thousand.²⁸)

It was expressly stipulated in these Rules and Regulations of the Genadendal Institute that they did not supplant the laws of the Cape Colony. In the case of a crime against the laws of the Colony the culprit was to be handed over to the colonial authorities.

The first section - appearing in the 1827 document under the heading "Of Christian Doctrine, Religion and general Moral and Social Duties" - deals with relations of dogma and Genadendal relations to other denominations. It is stated that the congregation at Genadendal feels itself a part of the church of the United Brethren, and that therefore, the Bible is the basis of teaching and conduct. Sunday should be kept as a day of rest and worship. Only teachers approved of by the directory of the United Brethren could be accepted. As regards moral conduct the emphasis is laid

PA.) P. Aces. LVIII Diary G., Jan. - Sept., 1809..

25) C.1. Latrobe, p. 390.

26) Nchr. 5. 1829: Ber. G., 182V4 CO 677 Colonial Office, 16th Mch., 1827 to Hallbeck.

27) P. Aces. vol 1858: Kölbings v., 15th May, 1858, Roser G., 17th Apr. 1858.

28) Appendix A for this discussion; c0 till Surveyor General to Civil Commissioner Mackay 28th Jul., 1851.

on strict honesty and on diligence. The members are reminded, however that the goods of this earth are transitory. In general a high standard of moral conduct was expected.

marriage is an institution ordained by God. A violation of the rules of Christian marriage must be punished by exclusion from congregation and institution. It is laid down how Christians and heathen residents can be legally married. Lastly, the duty of parents to provide their children with a Christian education is enunciated.

The second section - headed in the original of 1827 "Of outward Order and regularity of the institution" - lays down that every inhabitant of Genadendal shall have a fixed place of abode, especially young unmarried persons. It stipulates that houses should be well built and kept in good repair. It gives a missionary the right of inspection and builders are bound to obey his instructions when erecting new houses or altering old ones. 'Opzieners' are entrusted with the duty of allotting garden and arable land and are made responsible for seeing that such land is used properly. When it is not effectively cultivated it can be confiscated and given to more deserving persons. Disputes over gardens and arable land have to be brought before the 'inspector of gardens.' The conditions under which land in Genadendal was held by inhabitants is defined. The main condition being that such land is only held under the rules of the Institution and therefore, cannot be sold or bequeathed to persons outside the settlement. The owner of a house and a garden was, however, entitled to sell or bequeath his property to another resident on condition that he gave due notice to the superintendent of the institution. Also, the owner could forfeit his rights by prolonged absence, unless he delegated a tenable person to take care of his plot. Then follow regulations concerning stock and rules for the impounding of straying cattle. Such disputes as arise out of damage done by stock and over ownership of land should be brought in the first instance to the 'Opzieners' or missionaries, although nothing is in the way of taking complaints to a magistrate. So preserve public morality it was laid down that residents could not have strangers overnight unless permission had first been obtained from the missionaries or from certain 'opzieners'. Further, residents were expected to observe a curfew after the evening service. 'Young people were to be under supervision as much as possible; they were not allowed to participate in recreation likely to lead them into sin. Wine could be brought into the village in small

quantities and for" immediate use only. It was prohibited to sell drink in the settlement. The residents were expected to hold themselves available for work necessary for the commonweal, such as repairing roads and the church, and to see that they kept the roads in front of their plots in an orderly state and that the drinking water was not polluted. The community took care of the sick and infirm and, therefore, the inhabitants were enjoined not to forget the poor box. It was also defined how a person might enter the institution. A thorough inquiry into his previous life was made. If this was satisfactory and he was prepared to abide by the regulations, he was permitted to reside in the settlement on probation. Persons born in the village, had to promise to obey the rules when they were accepted into the congregation. Finally it was laid down, that any person who habitually violated these rules lost the right to reside in the settlement.

The aim of this section then, was to preserve a high standard of public morality and to outline ways of settling disputes peacefully.

The third section - which deals with "Superintendence of the Institution," - is of a different nature. It establishes the authoritative body which was charged with enforcing the rules, the 'Opziener konferensie.' The basis on which every individual was expected to comply with these rules was that they were agreed to by the residents and were not laws imposed by the Missionaries. It is difficult to say in how far this basic assumption was acted upon. In practice the residents in assembly agreed to the rules and regulations which had been drawn up by the missionaries. What the latter insisted on was that the inhabitants knew the rules. 'New people' had to understand and agree to abide by the rules before they were admitted. Persons born in Genadendal were told what the rules of the community were when they were received into the congregation. Besides, the Rules and Regulations were read to the assembled congregation at regular

intervals.²⁹ The final chapter added in 11.57 by the government aimed at separating the civil administration from that of the congregation and giving the government a greater say in the application of the Rules and regulations. The reasons for this step were two. It was felt that a further increase in the

²⁹ (30 611 Rules and Regulations of the Institution at Genadendal, Revised 1827. ..mark in the margin by Teutsch.

population of Genadendal would be undesirable and that therefore, the government should be able to control it. Secondly, there had been complaints about the civil administration of Genadendal by some residents.³⁰⁾ The government wished to safeguard the civic right of the inhabitants. The expulsion of the natives was to be decided, wide contingent on the consent of the magistrate. The right to vote in civic matters was defined in terms of property. The government reserved to itself the right to amend the Rules and regulations on the application of the missionaries and four fifths of the eligible voters. Finally, the right of every resident to take stock found on his land to the pound was reaffirmed.

When the legality of the 1858 Rules and regulations were challenged soon afterwards they were held to be invalid in the supreme court on the grounds that they were not parliamentary laws.³¹⁾ To place the administration of Genadendal on a legal basis it was found necessary to have a special mission station act. This act was, passed in 1909 and was accepted in Genadendal only in 1926.³²⁾ One of the main reasons for, or perhaps the most important reason for the invalidity of the rules and regulations was the fact that the land on which the institution stood had been granted in trust. It was not private property as for instance the Moravian station at Elim.³³⁾

Residents of Genadendal participated in the administration of the village from the beginning. There are references to the employment of Hottentot 'captains' in the accounts before 1816.³⁴⁾ These captains were invested with some authority direct from government. The of them possessed a staff of authority.³⁵⁾ In the early days the captains were responsible for maintaining law and order at Genadendal. They assisted in the collection of taxes and in securing

³⁰⁾ e2. 511 Memorial of John Jass, Loses Fourie, Margin Janzen and Piet Abraham to Governor Sir Harry Smith, 19th Spt., 1850.

³¹⁾ *Nederl. G.*, 9. 1865: *Ber. G.*, Jan. - Jun., 1865; *ibid.*, 6. 1866: *r. G.*, Jul.-Dez., 1865; *ibid.*, 4. 1850: *tier. G.*, Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858; *P. Accs.* no. 27, 1896: Jottings from the Western province.

³²⁾ 16.e.. Schmidt, *Die Plaaslike Beetuur van Baviaanskloof Genadendal, 1792-1926.* (Manuscript)

³³⁾ *r. Accs.* No. 32. 1857: the 'grant stations' and their importance for the natives, by Br. Rennig.

³⁴⁾ *r. Accs.* Journal *Bklf.* Jan., 1799 *ibid.*, Journal *Bklf.* 1801.

³⁵⁾ *P. Accs* LVIII Diary *G.*, Jan. - Spt., 1809.

deserters.³⁶⁾ The government was satisfied with this system of administration. Landdrost Rhyneveld, in 1802, praised the obedience of the Hottentots and pointed out that for a thousand people at Baviaanskloof no Justice of Peace was necessary, whereas ordinarily a Justice of Peace had enough to do among three hundred people.³⁷⁾ Later this rule by traditional tribal authorities was supplemented by that of the Kerkraad which acquired a number of temporal duties in addition to its church duties.³⁸⁾ But rivalry between various factions and clannish loyalties were not unknown among the leading residents at the time of Latrobe's visit and caused the missionaries a certain amount of trouble.³⁹⁾

this was one of the reasons why it was decided to institute the office of 'opziener'. The main reason, however, was the fact that Genadendal had increased in size. It was no longer possible for the missionaries alone to keep a watchful eye over the community. When, therefore, the chapel-servants proposed in 1816, that a number of respected persons should be appointed to assist the missionaries, the proposal was adopted. In May, 1816 32 overseers met for the first time, with the approval of the Landdrost at Cape Town.⁴⁰⁾ The 'opzieners' at first worked side by side with the 'captains'. Koopman, who had been the captain in Latrobe's time,⁴¹⁾ became chief overseer in the village and received a daily stipend of two shillings from the government, until his death in 1842. His duties as a chief are nowhere defined.⁴²⁾

In the beginning the overseers were appointed by the missionaries.⁴³⁾ When the Mores and Regulations were revised in 1827 a system of election was included. The qualification for a voter was twofold: the possession of a house and garden and the status of a communicant. Only communicants with 'walled houses' could be elected as overseers. Overseers were not elected regularly but only when a post fell vacant.⁴⁴⁾

36) C.I. Latrobe, pp. 154-57.

37) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk. Jan. - Feb., 1802.

38) *ibid.*, Journal Bk. 1799.

39) C.I. Latrobe, pp. 154-57, 402-3, 405-6.

40) *ibid.*, pp. 387-88, 389-90.

41) *ibid.*, pp. 402-6.

42) Nchr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

43) *ibid.* Latrobe, pp. 389-90.

44) Appendix A: eh. 111, 13 & 14: Nchr. 1. 1848: Ber. G. 1845.

Under the 1358 rules and regulations a further qualification was added viz., that only a person who owned a house and garden worth 45 could vote.⁴⁵⁾

body of overseers, consisting in 1827 of 18 members and in 1858 of 25 members, together with the chapel-servants, of whom there were 14 in 1827 and 18 in 1856, and the missionaries formed the 'Overseers Conference'.¹ It met at least once a month. It was the duty of the conference to settle disputes. The missionaries were looked upon as a kind of executive and, dealt with unimportant matters between meetings. Reports of actions taken had to be made to the conference, however, and important matters had, to be laid before it.⁴⁶⁾

The duties of the overseers were those of maintaining order in the settlement. They were not entitled to make bye-laws for the settlement. They had powers to settle minor disputes. It was their special duty to see that strangers did not enter the settlement. Persons expelled from or permitted to enter Genadendal were informed of this decision in the presence of the 'opzieners' and never without their

consent.⁴⁷⁾

A monthly conference of the overseers was instituted in 1826 at the request of the chapel-servants and overseers themselves. In 1827 it was included in the Rules and Regulations.⁴⁸⁻⁾ This body conducted the administration of Genadendal for a century.⁴⁹⁾

The lay overseers could only remain in office 'during good behaviour'. When, on account of irregularities, an overseer was publicly excluded from the congregation he was automatically dismissed from the Conference.⁵⁰⁾ He could be re-elected if he repented.⁵¹⁾ As the missionaries decided who was to be excluded they exercised some control over the composition of the conference. The missionaries apparently never used this power inequitably.

There were two forms of punishment, exclusion from the

45) Appendix A, IV, 2.

46) *ibid.*, III, 2, 9-12.

47) *ibid.*, III, 4, 11.

48) Nchr. 2. 1628: ber. g., Jan. Marz, 1826; *ibid.*, 5. 1629: leer. 4., 1027.

49) R. Schmidt, Die Plaaslike Bestuur.

50) e.g. Nchr. 5. 1640: ber. G. 1838.

51) Appendix A, III, 15; *ichr.* 4. 1890; Ber., G., Jul. - Dez., 1688.

congregation and expulsion from the place.⁵²) The Rules and regulations reserved to the missionaries the right to administer church discipline.⁵³) exclusion was the most important means of maintaining discipline and public morality. It was remarkably effective, particularly until hallbeck's death,⁵⁴) but even in 1857 Suhl comments on the respect shown for this form of correction. The names of those publicly excluded were read out to the congregation about eight times a year.⁵⁵) The reasons for exclusion could be religious,⁵⁶) but in most cases the reason was drunkenness or immorality.⁵⁷)

The missionaries' powers of expulsion were at first practically unlimited and the Veldcornets helped them to eject recalcitrants.⁵⁸) When, in 1816, the 'opzieners' were appointed, they were immediately consulted as to the readmission of a repentant expellee. Against the expectations of the missionaries they advocated his readmission.⁵⁹) The principle that the overseers conference should have advisory powers in matters of expulsion or admission was, therefore, already present in Latrobe's time.⁶⁰) If a person continually broke rules and if he seduced other residents to succumb to vice, he was expelled.⁶¹) Only 54 persons were expelled from the village during the first twenty-five years of its existence.⁶²)

Towards the middle of the Nineteenth Century, however, these two forms of punishment grew less effective and more difficult to apply. The number of persons excluded from the

52) There is no evidence that the 'opzieners' at Genadendal could award punishment and inflict 'stripes upon the back with a rod of quince,' although it may have been the case. Wheal, records, Vol. xxxv, p. 331.

53) Appendix A: Ch. III, 5.

54) J. Backhouse, p. 98.

55) P. Aces. CCXXXVII, 1857: D.W. Suhl, G., 3rd April., 185V

56) See Chapter III.

57) O.1. Latrobe, pp. 304, 398-402; Exs. P. Aces. Hallbeck, 29th Aug., 1835; P. Aces. LXI, Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810; ibid., LXV, Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1812; Nchr. 5. 1840: Ber. G., 1838.

58) C I Latrobe, p. 384.

59) ibid., pp. 398-402.

60) Appendix A, III, 11.

61) C.I. Latrobe, p. 384; Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf., May, 1803 - Nov., 1804.

62)

) Nchr. 2. 1819: Ber. G., 1818.

congregation every year increased, especially after 1850.⁶³) Some of the excluded became a centre of opposition to the missionaries.⁶⁴) it had become difficult for the missionaries to expell troublemakers after the 1856 revision of the rules and regulations, as they made an expulsion order from a magistrate compulsory, but this power of the magistrate was not upheld in the Supreme Court which virtually made ejection impossible.⁶⁵) In 1848 already, the relations of an expelled person often kept him at Genadendal, thus negating the effect of expulsion.)

There were thus minority groups within the settlement, who opposed the accepted form of administration of the community. The main reasons for opposition to the missionaries were two. The less serious but widespread form of antagonism was the refusal of residents to pay the fees levied by the Overseers Conference,⁶⁷ although these had been approved of in a public assembly.) In 1848 the residents refused to pay true fee for the herdboys.⁶⁸) In 1878 the missionaries complained that the Genadendalers were unwilling to pay their school and congregation fees.⁶⁹)

The more serious, though not, so general, form of opposition was motivated by the desire for land and for security of tenure. The first manifestation of this was in 1850 when four Coloureds from Genadendal, who had been promised land as a reward for the services during the 1835 frontier wars,⁷⁰) petitioned against an alleged encroachment by neighbouring farmers.⁷¹) The claim was pronounced unfounded by the civil Commissioner and Surveyor General, who had been sent to investigate.⁷²) A letter from Teutsch, the Superintendent, shows that this petition was presented to the Governor against the will of the missionaries.") In 1858 some few residents

53) Appendix B.

64) P. Accs. CCXV 1852: C.R. Kolbing G., 22nd kWh., 1()52.

65) Appendix A, IV, 6; Nchr. 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

66) Nchr. 1. 1850: Bei', G., 1848.

57) Nchr. 6. 1E536: Bar. G., 1834 .

Yiid. ,
1844.

2. 1847: Ber.

69) *ibid.*, 6. 1879: Ber. - Jim., 1878.

70) *ibid.*, 2. 1839: Ber. G., 1836.

71) CO 611 is of our Hottentots to Governor Sir Harry Smith, 26th Sept., 1850.

72) Accs. CCX 1851: C.L. Teutsch, 23rd & 5th Oct., 1850.

73) CO 611v.L. Teutsch to Civil Commissioner Mackay, 22nd Oct., 1850.

caused trouble by attempting to obtain the status of a municipality for Genadendal. he were allowed to call a meeting for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes of the inhabitants, but suffered an overwhelming defeat.') This, if successful, would have been tantamount to terminating the civil authority of the missionaries. In 1863 a petition was signed even by some of the overseers and chapel-servants, although it had been expressly decided by them conference that the should not sign p^etitions to the government affecting the administration of the place. The cause for complain was the refusal of the missionaries to purchase a heavily mortgaged house for the congregation. As a result some of the chapel-servants and overseers were dismissed. The missionaries now felt that the reason for the growing opposition was the fact that they exercised supreme civil authority in the settlement and this was injurious to their spiritual work.⁷⁵⁾ After 1892 another incident occurred and the motive was again the desire for more land.⁷⁶⁾

it is thus obvious that internal opposition was growing and that, although the missionaries were still capable of enforcing their authority, the legal weakness of the system should have been remedied long ago. This weakness lay in the fact that Genadendal was not the property of the mission of the Unitas Fratrum but a 'grant station' to be held in trust by the Superintendent of the mission in South Africa.⁷⁷⁾

⁷⁴⁾ Mchr. 4. 1860: Ber. Berea, Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858.

⁷⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1864: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1863.

⁷⁶⁾ P. Accs. No. 71, 1907: Report on Mission Fields, South Africa, Western Province.

⁷⁷⁾ P. Accs. No. 32, 897: The 'grant stations' Br. Hennig.

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Land Teneer and relations with the Government.

As Genadendal was a 'grant station' and had not been purchased by the mission the government could interfere more easily in its administration than in a station. Such as Slim¹ that had been purchased by the mission.) There were four other spheres of contact between the community and the government. Government supervised the administration of the place. It employed residents as soldiers and otherwise. It influenced the community by promoting and sometimes obstructing the work of the missionaries. The Coloured inhabitants played a part in the internal political development of the Colony.

The initial grant of Genadendal was made in a resolution of the Council of acting on orders from the Council of Seventeen.²) By the resolution of the 19th

December, 1792, the missionaries were permitted to proceed to Baviaanskloof, to perform missionary work, to gather a congregation and to administer the Sacraments. The Landdrost of Stellenbosch was asked to inform his Veldcornets that the missionaries should enjoy their protection. Teunissen, the commander of the Company's post at Zoetemelkswaai, was to provide them with everything *they* needed.³) The missionaries would have preferred a more secure title, but when⁴ they applied for it to the government it was refused.)

The British authorities during the first occupation were prepared to give the missionaries a greater security of tenure. When the missionaries petitioned against encroachments by the neighbouring farmers,⁵) the government was willing to investigate the situation.⁶) The disputed land was resurveyed and some of it was returned to the institution.⁷)

1) k. Aces. No. 32, 1897: 'The 'grant stations' Br. Bennie.

2) CO 677: Memorial of United Brethren missionaries, 11th Feb., 1856, Annex A; Translated copy of resolution of Council of Seventeen, 3rd Dec., 1791.

³) *ibid.*, Annex B translated copy: extract Resolution in "Raad van Politie", Cape Town, 19th Dec., 1792.

⁴) rapers relative to natives, 1835: Brief Sketch, 1823.

⁵) BO 34: petition against encroachment by Philip Morkel and. Barend Guildenhuysen, by Loravians, 12th Jan., 1799.

⁶) b3 34: Lands Office to Revenue office, 17th Feb., 1802; Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1801; *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Jan. - Feb., 1802.

⁷) Exs. P. Aces. Journal bklf. ch. - Spt., 1802.

Under the rule of the Batavian Republic (1803-1806) no change of policy was recorded. Under the Second British Occupation difficulty arose about the erection of a church at Groenekloof on the grounds that the 'loan places' on which stations had been established did not belong to the missionaries. Latrobe then wrote to Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, asking him to secure the land to the mission.⁸⁾ Lord Bathurst instructed Cradock in 1813 as follows:

"I am sure therefore that I am only anticipating your own wishes in conveying to **you** the Instructions of His Majesty's Government to give every facility in answer to the fulfilment of Mr. Latrobe's request, and to secure to the establishment for the use of its congregations either by grant or otherwise as you may deem most advisable, both at Groenekloof and Genadendal, such portion of and as the establishment may appear to you to require.")

At the same time Bathurst informed Latrobe that formal grants of the land occupied by the missionaries would be made to "secure them from ejectment or disturbance in future."¹⁰⁾

Before Cradock had received these instructions, Theal¹¹⁾ already acceded to a request by the Moravians for a new 'loan place' at Genadendal.¹¹⁾ as the Landdrost could find no suitable loan place, the neighbouring farmers were made to cede the necessary land to the institution. By way of compensation they received double the area of land they had ceded to the missionaries elsewhere.¹²⁾ the thus enlarged area was resurveyed¹³⁾ and the survey fee was paid by the missionaries) A diagram of the land thus set apart for the use of **the Hottentots** was sent to the missionaries.¹⁵⁾

Cradock did not grant a full title to the missionaries because he felt it would develop into a species of mortmain.

This would have eliminated the possibility of residents appealing to the government.¹⁶⁾

⁸⁾ Theal, records, ix pp. 259-262.

⁹⁾ *ibid.*, ix, pp. 273-4.

¹⁰⁾ 611 copy: Downing Street to C.I. Latrobe, 23rd Dec., 1811

¹¹⁾ records, ix, pp. 191-2, 199-200.

¹²⁾ *ibid.*, ix, pp. 412-3, 458-9; x, pp. 179-80, 193, 198-9, 200-1.

¹³⁾ *ibid.*, x, pp. 179-60.

¹⁴⁾ UO 677 Memorial of United Brethren Missionaries, 11th

Feb., 1856: Annex D: Secretary of Swellendam District to Mister, 3rd Jun., 1814.

¹⁵⁾ Theal records, x, p. 246; CO 611 Copy: Landdrost to missionaries at G., 5th Mch., 1815.

¹⁶⁾ Theal, records, ix, pp. 461-2; x, pp. 328-32.

in 1850 four dissatisfied Hottentots presented a petition to Sir Harry Smith including a plea for the granting of a regular title for the lands of Genadendal.¹⁷⁾ The investigation which was set on foot then re-opened the question of the mission society's title to Genadendal.¹⁸⁾ The official investigation viz., the Surveyor General and the civil commissioner at Caledon, recommended that the lands at Genadendal be granted on a nominal quitrent to the Superintendent of the mission in trust for the Hottentots. Missionaries were to remain in full possession of the buildings necessary for the running of the institution, and to retain the right to water and good and such other rights as they had hitherto possessed. The Commission envisaged the early granting of a municipality to Genadendal, when these rights of the missionaries were to be reserved.¹⁹⁾ Both commissioners had been in favour of granting title deeds to the individual plot holders, but realised this to be impossible because of the confusion of rights to land at Genadendal.²⁰⁾

Title was not granted to the Oravians then but only after repeated appeals by the missionaries.²¹⁾ The issue was complicated by the discovery of an error in the survey of 1815 which excluded most of the oldest buildings from the title-grant. Fortunately the Surveyor General did not object to including this in a correct survey.²²⁾ Title was eventually granted and received by the missionaries in 1858²³⁾ on the conditions which had been envisaged in 1850.²⁴⁾ The size of the area granted was entered as 5598 morgen.²⁵⁾

Simultaneously with the negotiations for the title to the Genadendal lands attempts were, as we have seen, made to introduce individual tenure. The 1850 commission found

17) CO 611 Memorial of J. Jass, P. Abrahams, M. Fourie, M. Jansen to Governor Sir H. Smith, 26th Sept., 1850.

18) Nchr. 1. 1852: Ber. G., Jul. Dez., 1850.

19) CO 611 Surveyor General to Colonial Office, 26th Sept. 1851.

20) CO 611 Civil Commissioner Mackay to Ch. Bell Surveyor General 6th Sept., 1851.

21) CO 677 Memorial of United Brethren Missionaries re Title, 11th Feb., 1856; C.R. K31bing to Colonial Secretary, 18th Nov., 1856; Memorial from Genadendal, 7th Jan., 1858 & K31bing, 16th Jan., 1858.

22) CO 694 K31bing to Colonial Secretary, 5th Dec. 1857; Memorial to Governor Grey from Superintendent, 5th Dec., 1857.

23) Nchr. 4. 1860: Bericht G., Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858.

24) CO 677 Draught Title, endorsed 20th October, 1857.

25) Nchr. 4. 1860: Ber., G., Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858.

that its introduction would have been very difficult. in 1854 a bill was introduced into parliament aimed at dividing the mission station lands into 'erven' to be given as freehold to the occupiers.⁶⁾ The missionaries at Genadendal drew up a petition which was supported by the majority of the inhabitants, who apparently realised the danger of such a development.²⁷⁾ In a letter to the select committee which considered the bill, Kölbing argued that the Coloureds would lose their lands if freehold titles were granted to them. The lauds at Genadendal were not capable of carrying the population living at the station. The reason why the inhabitants could subsist was that they worked for the farmers during the busy seasons. If land tenure were not specially safeguarded the Coloured occupiers would lose their plots and be dispersed. The granting of the 'erven' in freehold would cause an influx of low class

Europeans who would disrupt the morals of the Genadendal community. The existing racial feeling was not caused by the presence of institutions but by the fact that

"As long as the coloured classes are treated with contempt because they are coloured, ^{this feeling} of races will not die away.")

The bill was not accepted in parliament.) A strong body²⁹

of opinion outside Genadendal in favour of such a division of the lands until 1892 and later. It was Superintendent Hennig who then defended the 'clinging to the

grants besides, there was a small party of residents in favour of individual title deeds.³¹⁾

In the beginning the colonial authorities expected the missionaries to police Genadendal. In 1831, for instance, they were instructed to ascertain whether there were any Hottentot deserters at Baviaanskloof.³³⁾ The authorities

26) Nchr. 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

27) CO 637 Petition of Genadendal householders against introduction of freehold at G., to Lt. - Gov., C.H. Darling, 2nd Aug., 1854.

28) Cape of Good Hope Appendix to Votes and Procedures of Parliament 1856: C.R. Kölbing to Select Committee, 15th Apr.

29) Nchr. 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

30) P. Accs. No. 32, 1897: The 'grant stations' Br. Hennig.

31) Nchr. 4. 1860: Ber. G., Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858.

32) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 92.

33) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1801.

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were satisfied with their handling of problems of public order.³⁴) In cases when the missionaries were unable to enforce the authority of the government, officials were despatched to their aid, for instance, when a person resisted expulsion from the village.³⁵) The British authorities tried to give the 'captains' at Genadendal some policing authority but apparently to little effect³⁶)

in consequence it was the missionaries with the help of the 'opzieners' who apprehended suspected criminals. These were mainly stock thieves and runaway slaves,³⁷) but also more serious offenders)

Occasionally government officials enforced orders which applied to the settlement such as the order received by

Teunissen to limit the number of Hottentots and cattle at

Baviaanskloof.³⁸) Others commandeered residents to per-

form policing tasks, such as the recapture of runaway

slaves.⁴⁰) in 1849, the government appointed a constable

with powers to arrest offenders against the law. The first

constable as overseer recommended by the missionaries,⁴¹

but after four months a white constable was appointed.)

As the apprehension of criminals was now a responsibility of the civil authorities it is difficult to understand why farmers still accused the missionaries of being unco—operative in the tracking down of criminals.⁴²)

There does not seem to have been very much work for the constable because he was later made postmaster as well.") in 1857 a monthly court to be held by the magistrate from Caledon was instituted, but this found so little work that

34) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Jan. - Feb., 1802.

35) C.I. Latrobe, pp. 384, 398-402.

36) *ibid.*, pp. 402-3; Nchr. 1. 1826: Ber. G., 1824; *ibid.*, 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

37) e.g. Nchr. 6. 1819: Ber. G., Jan. - Spt., 1818; *ibid.*, 6. 1820: Ber. G., Okt. - Dez., 1818.

38) *ibid.*, 3. 1833: Ber. G., 1830.

39) BO 33 Instructions of Sluysken regarding Hottentots at Zoetemelks vallei, 10th Jan., 1795; Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1795.

40) P. Accs. 141: Diary G., 1810 Mch. - Jul.; Nchr. 3. 1823: Apr. - Spt., 1821.

41) Nchr. 3. 1851: Ber. G., 1849; *ibid.*,² 1854: Ber. G., 1852.

42) C. of G. H. Interrogation of Caledon farmers. 1856.

43) P. Accs. No. 27. 1896: A Moravian Settlement - E. Jacob.

was later only convened bimonthly .44)

At this stage it seems necessary to review in detail the development of government policy towards Genadendal. The three first missionaries were well received by the authorities of the Company at the Cape. they were advised to stay in Cape Town until Teunissen the commander of the

Company's post, Zoetemelksvallei, arrived. Teunissen was instructed to 'assist and advise them to the utmost of his power' and, as described above, did so in the beginning.⁴⁵) The Landdrost of Stellenbosch too was Instructed to protect and aid the missionaries and to order his veldcornets to do the same.⁴⁶) Thus the government of the company did much to assist the missionaries in the founding of Genadendal.

later the attitude of the government changed. This was a result of the difficult position of the last Company Governor Sluysken, who had to defend the cape against British attack hampered by revolts in the interior. Sluysken in deference to public opinion, prohibited the missionaries from ringing the bell and from erecting buildings,⁴⁷) The most serious interference was Sluysken's order to Teunissen

to prevent the overstocking of Baviaanskloof. This prohibited Hottentots from distant parts to bring all their cattle without the permission of their masters. Hottentots, who were not original residents had to return their cattle to where they had come from.) The enforcement of this order^{caused}

an estrangement between Teunissen and the three missionaries.

According to them Teunissen had bribed hottentots to testify

44) P. Accs. CCXXVII, 1857: D.W. Suhl, 3rd Apr., 1857; *ibid.*, No. 27. 1896: A Moravian Settlement - E. Jacob.

45) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

46) GO 677 Memorial of United Brethren Missionaries, 11th Feb., 1856, Annex B: Extract of Resolution in "Raad van Politie", 19th Dec., 1792.

47) J.T. Hamilton, A History of the Missions of the Moravian Church. 1901. p. 72-4, H.G. Schneider, G., p. 114-6; BO 33 Petition by Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel for permission to ring bell, 25th Feb., 1798. Hamilton and Schneider maintain that Sluysken prohibited the erection of a pig-sty, (Zwarte-beest huisje - probably Hartebeesthuis) and that the preacher at Stellenbosch complained because he could not hear the bell, whereas he did so because the bell was in his parish, c.f. the Lutheran Church in Cape Town. See J. Du Plessis, A History, ch. ix.

48) BO 33 Instruction of Sluysken regarding Hottentots at Zoetemelksvallei, 10th Jan., 1795, (Translated Copy).

to the authorities in Cape Town that Baviaanskloof was overstocked. Attempts by Marsveld and some Hottentots to procure the revocation of this order proved unsuccessful. On the intervention of friendly farmers the order was rescinded.

These difficulties were not the result of a policy. When the missionaries fled to Cape Town before Pisani in 1795 the threat to the security of Genadendal by this rebel leader was considered a slight to the authority of the Government by the indignant Governor. When Sluysken had come to an agreement with the swellendam

nation, the missionaries returned to Baviaanskloof with his promise of protection.⁵⁰) After the surrender of the colony,

of the British government towards the mission, he waited on Governor Sluysken, who told him that he had written to

when he visited General Craig he was assured of the protection of the British authorities. Overruling Teunissen's opposition they transformed their promise into actions when some Hottentots petitioned them for permission to proceed to Baviaanskloof) they also instructed Teunissen to protect the hottentots at the Baviaanskloof against the violence of the colonists, who were taking the law into their own hands when they heard of Lee's arrival of a Dutch fleet under Admiral Lucas.⁵²) The strong action of the government, when the farmers around Baviaanskloof threatened to destroy the institution, prevented serious developments. The position of missionaries and Hottentots was made secure by the posting of dragoons to Zoetmelksvallei.⁵³)

The missionaries were again permitted to ring their bell and to erect a church,⁵⁴) although the Landrost of Stellenbosch still looked with disfavour upon the institution.⁵⁵) the relations between the British administration and the missionaries remained cordial. accompanied, Jieutelieat-

49) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1795 (Jan-Apr.)

50) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1795 (Jul. - Aug.)

51) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1795 (Oct.)

52) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Jan. - Spt., 1796 (Aug.)

53) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Jan. - Spt., 1796 (Feb.)

54) BO 33 Petition by Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel for bell, 25th Feb., 1798, and Petition of Bklf. missionaries for permission to erect a church. (no date).

55) BO 33 Landdrost R.J.v.d. Riet to Gov. Craig, 9th Jun., 1796.

Governor Dundas in 1799 on his tour of appeasement of the frontier.⁵⁶) ,hen the Batavians arrived, in 1302, Dundas recommended the brethren to he care of Janssens.⁵⁷

attitude of the Batavian authorities was very much the same as that of the first British occupation. Both Janssens and De Mist visited Baviaans-kloof and seem to have been impressed.⁵⁸) They asked the Brethren at Baviaans-kloof

for a ~~chaplain~~^{Wynbrag} to serve the Hottentot troops in the camp at ⁵⁹

. Konrhammer was selected for this work. he last act of the Batavian government was to **give** Baviaans-kloof the core appropriate name of Genadendal.⁶⁰)

ernor Caledon arrived in 1807, Kühnel wrote:

'that we lost in Governor Jansen, God has given us again in Lord caledon; who, when Brother bonatz and I called upon him, assured us okras friendship and good will to our Mission.)

he first action of Caledon was to suggest the commencement of a station at Groenekloof (later mamre) and to grant the land for it.⁶²) The favourable attitude of the British authorities is evident in the correspondence between Dawning Street and the castle. The Moravian missionaries were recommended to the special care of the Governors at the cape.)

~~Successive~~ Governors stated that the^y appreciated the work of the Moravians and assisted them where the, could.⁶⁴)

The increase of the land grant and the securing of the title are further proofs of the favour of the government. When in 1817 Somerset, reported to Bathurst that the missionaries in the Colony had not benefited it, he excepted the —Moravians⁶⁵ cost of the Governors visited the institution ,⁶⁶ some even

56) Exs. P. Accs. Jul., 1799 - Jan., 1800, Journal Bklf.

57) Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 310.

58) Exs. P. Accs. Reports on Bklf. Feb., 1803; *ibid.*, Diary Bklf. May 1803 - Nov., 1804.

59) *ibid.*, Diary Bklf. May 1803 - Nov., 1804.

60) Papers relative to Natives, 1835, Notes of P.B. Borchersds.

61) P. Accs. LII: J.C. Kühnel, G., 12th Jan., 1808.

62) *ibid.*, LIV: Diary Bklf. Jan. - Feb., 1808; Theal, Records, Vol. vi, p. 270-1.

63) Theal, Records, vol. vi. p. 83, ix. p. 273-4, x. p. 301-2 353-4.

64) *ibid.*, vi 270-1, ix, p. 461-2, x. p. 325-32.

65) *ibid.*, vol. xi, 25 p. 254.

66) P. Accs. LIV: Diary G., Jan. - Feb., 1808; *ibid.*, LXVIII, Küster, G., 21st Apr., 1813; Mohr. 5. 1819: Ber. G., 1817; *ibid.*, 3. 1823: Ber. G., Apr. - Spt., 1821; *ibid.*, 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826; *ibid.*, 1. 1826: Ber. G., 1833; *ibid.*, 1. 1834: Ber. G., 1830.

after the tape had got representative governments)

The governments, however, made use of the man power available at Genadendal. Hottentots were used in the repercussions of the 'trench Revolutionary Wars in the Colony. later they were employed on the Lantern Frontier against the . Finally they played their part in the Transvaal jar of 18L;--1.

In 1795 the Dutch East India Company was in dire need of troops when an English attack threatened. It did not hesitate to levy hottentots as auxiliaries. Four cannon shots summoned the Hottentots to defend the Gape. the

missionaries admonished the Hottentots to go which they did!, albeit reluctantly. .Because of the absence of the :_en the government had to provide floor for the dependents of the soldiers. In September, 1795 most of the Hottentot auxiliaries returned. „f their conduct as soldiers the missionaries report:

he Hottentots ae in general considered as grave soldiers, and were always pot in the van, the farmers and citizens bringing up the rear.")

As the English had difficulties in the interior and their forces were limited, they also recruited men from, the

settlement. In May, 1796 there were over a hundred men in their service. e congregation was depleted because the men took their wives and children with them. the missionaries had

difficulties in feeding those dependents who stayed. After the surrender of the Dutch fleet in Saldanha Bay the colonists acquiesced in the English rule and the English released many Coloured soldiers. ⁶⁹)

Governor Janssens in turn called for Hottentot volunteers. in 1803 already successful attempts were made at recruiting Hottentots. In October and September 1803 about 30 Hottentots volunteered and joined the forces in Gape .own. the

Batavian authorities were especially desirous of having; pendable Baviaanskloof men as sergeants and corporals. The rest of the tibia bodied men premised to proceed to Gape 'X0411

when the signal can was fired. Captain Beseur praised their conduct and said their only complaint was the copious swearing of the other volunteers at Wynberg. Governor Janssens quartered the dependents of Hottentot volunteers on the

67) P. Accs. CCXXVII, 1855: C.R. K lbing, 1st Feb., 1855, ibid., CCLVIII, 1862: W.F. Bechler, G., 11th Nov., 1862.

68) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1795.

69) H.G. Shhneider, G., p. 148; Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Jan. - Spt., 1796.

was pleased *with* the conduct of the hottentots and said they were a model to the regiment. they were only discharged in 1836.⁷⁸⁾

In May, 1846 over 300 **men** were levied from Genadendal for the Seventh Kaffir War. they returned in February, the following year. phis time they were able to send home some money. They sent letters home fairly frequently . Again they *re highly* praised by their commanders. They **only fault** found with *there*. was that they sometimes drank too much. After they had returned, another attempt was made to recruit volunteers. Favourable terms were offered and eventually about 100 men joined the Hottentot Corps. They were promised land in Kaffraria and a free journey for their dependents *go glair* future domicile near the frontier.⁷⁹⁾

In January, and February, 1851 many were again prepared to defend the Colony in the Eighth Kaffir War. In the end about 36J men from Genadendal served at the front. *ire* three statlons of the ;Moravian Brethren alone, provided 1,000 men for the prosecution of the mar. the Genadendalers experienced sharp engagements in the Amatola Mountains and acquitted themselves well. They remained loyal to the government after the Shiloh and at river not Hottentots revolted. Most of these

Hottentots arrived back in July, 1851 and immediately recruiting started for the formation of a free corps. As the returned men had been dissatisfied with their burgher officers, who had seduced the young Hottentot *to* drinking and card playing, the recruiting was unsuccessful at first. *mater* on, however, over a hundred men from Genadendal volunteered. Some returned but about 70 of *treem* remained on the frontier and be an to lead the *dlissipated* life of soldiers.⁸⁰⁾

When an attempt was made in 1878 to recruit 300 volunteers not one of **the** beside; *s* would risk his life as they did not consider the Colony endangered.⁶¹⁾ in 1681, however, over a hundred men were prepared to join the forces as wagoners.⁸²⁾

The Coloured community also played a part in **the con-**

78) Nchr. 3. 1838: Ber. G., 1835; *ibid.*, 2. 1840: Ber. G., 1837

79) *ibid.*, 6. 1848: Ber. G., 1846; *ibid.*, 2. 1849: Ber. G., 1847

80) Nchr. 2. 1853: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez. 1851; *ibid.*, 2. 1845; Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1852.

81) *ibid.*, 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878.

82) *ibid.*, März 1882: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1881; *ibid.*, Nov., 1882: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1881.

stitutional development of the Cape colony. When in 1846 -9 the Colony was stirred to indignation **by** the plan to land convicts at the Cape, the missionaries felt that this would endanger the moral security of their Hottentots . They

therefore drew up a petition signed by 472 coloureds and requested the revocation of this order. in 1849 the residents pledged their support to the Antic-Convict-Association , and when the ship had arrived in Table Bay many Genadendalers signed the resolution passed at the mass Meeting which decided to actively oppose the landing of the convicts.⁸³⁾

introduction of the representative constitution in 1853 filled the Coloureds at Genadendal with apprehension and the missionaries had to explain it to them and allay their fears.⁸⁴⁾ By this constitution many residents

qualified as voters. the elections held in 1854 were fairly

quiet,) out in the 1856 elections the missionaries were shocked by the copious drinking.⁶⁶⁾ In 1869 the candidates for the Upper house provided a roast in Genadendal at which wine was served and the candidates for use Lower House procured votes by bribing members of the electorate.⁶⁷⁾ During the elections in 1871 the missionaries estimated that 1.500 bottles of wine were brought into the settlement.⁸⁸⁾ when, as *in* 1874, there was no polling station at Genadendal, the successful candidates thanked the Genadendal electorate for their support by sending 450 bottles of wine;⁸⁹⁾ wonder the missionaries felt that the right to vote was of no real benefit to the Coloureds at Genadendal. In 1878 they again complain of copious bribing. Unscrupulous candidates made use of the Coloured vote for their own ends, yet the

Brethren dared not advise their charges for fear of evoking the opposition of the political parties.⁹⁰⁾ A few years better the missionaries characterise the situation thus:

"Tenn ein angelegentliches volksbeglückendes Utz was Stimme erlangen will, werden hunderte von Pfund Sterling ausgegeben, um die Stimmen der Farbigen zu erhalten, und ist dann der Zweck er-

- 83) Nchr. 1. 1850: Ber. G., 1848; ibid., 3. 1851: Ber. G., 1849
- 84) ibid., 4. 1855: Ber. G., Jan. - Spt., 1853.
- 85) ibid., 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.
- 86) ibid., 5. 1860: Ber. G., Aug. - Dez., 1858.
- 87) Nchr. 2. 1871: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1869.
- 88) ibid., 4. 1873: Ber. G., 1871.
- 89) ibid., 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.
- 90) ibid., 1. 1880: Ber. G., 1878.

reicht, dam) hilft sin solcher durch die Stimmen der Eingeborenen the Parliament Gelangter esetze machen, die parade diese armen Eingeborgen aufs empfindlichste treffen und schädigen ')

In 1884 the secret ballot was introduced and this improved the behaviour of voters at Genadendal. the Granting first of representative and then of responsible Government to the ape Colony made the government subject to censure by the fuming interest, and therefore, the influence of the missionaries on government policy became less effective. the advent of the Afrikanerbond in the 1880ies made the missionaries apprehensive.') We Government, influenced by ⁹³ this party, reduced the financial grants to mission schools. the relations between the community and government were only stabilised when the 1909 Mission Lands Act was applied to Genadendal in 1926.⁹⁴)

⁹¹) Nchr. 3. 1885: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1883. (when a prospective benefactor of the people wants to get a seat in Parliament, hundreds of pounds sterling are expended to obtain the votes of the Coloureds, and when the goal is reached such a man, who has been voted into Parliament by the natives, helps to pass legislation that is especially injurious to these poor natives.)

⁹²) Nchr. 5. 1885: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1884.

⁹³) *ibid.*, 10. 1889: Jan. - Jun., 1886.

⁹⁴) L.R. Schmidt, Die plaaslike bestuur, 1792-1926.

VI.

Relations with the colonists.

The colonists were divided in their attitude towards the United Brethren at Genadendal. There were always some who were favourably inclined to the missionaries; others were bitterly opposed.

The first missionaries were welcomed by a number of fervent Christians in Cape Town, and they called on a certain Cloete at Gonstantia. When the missionaries had established themselves at aviaanskloof, two farmers visited them and one of the two invited them to his home, saying: "Let us be good neighbours."¹) The missionaries visited the farmers and European visitors attended the services at Baviaanskloof.²) It was on religious grounds that this early friendship between farmers and missionaries was based.

European who attended services on festive occasions are frequently mentioned in the accounts from 1750 onwards to about 1850. From then such visitors became fewer until at the end of our period no persons from the neighbourhood, except clergymen, visited the institution.³ Until the emancipation of the slaves in 1838, the slaves from neighbouring farms, accompanied by their masters, attended divine service at

Genadendal and Christmas and new year services were generally well attended because farmers allowed their Hottentot servants to go to Genadendal after the harvest had been gathered in.⁴)

The intervention of Mr. Cloete and his friends saved Baviaanskloof from serious trouble. On receiving Cloete's report on the order limiting the number of cattle at the station, the authorities rescinded the order. Cloete later purchased the land adjoining the mission 'with a view to the safety of the mission.'⁵)

There was, however, also a great deal of bitter opposition to the missionaries. The reasons for this opposition are obvious. The farmers feared that the institution at Baviaanskloof would deplete their labour supply because the Hottentots obviously preferred to go there than work for them. The mission lands, furthermore, limited the expansion

1) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

2) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. 1795.

3) Nchr. and P. Accs. *passim*.

4) e.g. Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1801; Nchr. 6. 1820: Ber. G., Okt. - Dez., 1818.

5) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1795.

of the farmers.) in addition the farmers felt that the Hottentots should not benefit from an education that they had never been able to procure for themselves.) As Calvinists, the colonists at first⁸ opposed the type of religion preached at Baviaanskloof.) Finally, they disliked that the missionaries interceded for the⁹ Hottentots when they had been ill-treated by their masters.)

Certain colonists, therefore, attempted to make the position of the missionaries untenable. They planned a boycott of the mission which was unsuccessful.¹⁰ Farmers tried to detain hottentots proceeding to Baviaanskloof by such methods as holding back their children.¹¹) Malicious rumours were started with the aim of deterring Hottentots from moving to the station.¹²)

in 1795, when the cape was troubled by disturbances in the interior and the threat of an English attack, the security of the missionaries too, was threatened. In July Hottentots reported that the farmers who had taken part in the revolt at Swellendam had told them that the school at Baviaanskloof would soon no longer exist. The three missionaries thereupon prepared for flight. On the advice of Teunissen they sent home all the hottentots who came from beyond the Sonderend River to pacify the insurgents. But on the 20th July, some of the 'nationals' arrived to inform them of their decision regarding the institution. KUhnelt was shown an article in their manifesto which read as follows:

We will not permit any Moravians to live here and instruct the Hottentots, for as there are many Christians who receive no instruction, it is not proper, that the hottentots should be made wiser than the Christians, but they must remain what they were formerly.

Those Hottentots who were born on a farmer's estate must live there, and serve the farmer till they are 25 years old, before they receive wages.

The Hottentots must live among the farmers and not assemble together as at Baviaans Kloof.

All Bushmen, or wild hottentots caught by us, must remain slaves For life.

Item, the Moravians were never meant to be employed among the Hottentots of this country, but among the Bushmen..."

6) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793; H. Lichtenstein, I p. 245-6.

7) Exs. P. Accs. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793, Journal Bklf.

8) H. Lichtenstein, I p. 245-6.

9) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

10) C.I. Latrobe, p. 117-8.

11) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

12) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793 and 1795.

This manifesto was said to have been sizzled by three thousand. Yet the threats of the 'nationals' themselves did not materialize. ¹³)

In July the Brethren received a peremptory order from Commandant Pisani, who was reputed to be marching on

Rodesand with 800 men, to leave Baviaanskloof immediately.

Teunissen advised them to go to Cape Town and promised to take care of their belongings. They left Baviaanskloof on the 31st, July. On their arrival in Cape Town they immediately proceeded to the Governor, who was surprised at the audacity of Pisani. The representative of the 'nationals' in Cape

Town, who was negotiating an agreement on the defence of the Colony with the authorities of the company, told the

missionaries that Pisani was not one of them and that they would not be harmed if they returned. Pisani was captured by the 'nationals' themselves and handed over to the officials in

Cape Town. The Governor was then of the opinion that they would be safe, so in August they returned on the wagons of one of their farmer friends. ¹⁴)

In February, 1796, after the English had occupied the Cape apparently another attack on the mission threatened. According to the journal a number of men gathered on a farm near Baviaanskloof with the aim of destroying the station. Hottentots brought the news of this attack to the missionaries, another informed the government. General Craig sent a letter to Teunissen threatening severe reprisals if such an outrage should occur. ¹⁵) After this incident, never more than a strong threat, ¹⁶) there was peace.

In subsequent years a number of 'unimportant differences over the boundaries of land' arose. ¹⁷) In 1796 their old friend Cloete complained about the trespassing of cattle onto his farm. Similar complaints were made by farmers who lived beyond Cloete's establishment. ¹⁸) The missionaries believed that the land on which the cattle of the Hottentots grazed did not belong to Cloete as no farms were to have been given out in the Baviaanskloof area. ¹⁹) in fairness to

13) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1795.

14) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. 1795.

15) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. 1796.

16) H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 245-6; c.f. J. Barrow, I, pp. 311-2.

17) H. Lichtenstein, I, pp. 245-6.

18) BO 33 Landdrost v.d. Riet to Craig, 9th Jun., 1796, and Annexes.

19) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1796.

Cloete, however, it must be mentioned that he produced his title to the farm Weltevreden. The only condition that the Company had imposed was that Cloete was not to drive his cattle through the Sonderend and thereby infringe the rights of the neighbouring Hottentots.²⁰) Three years later, the missionaries and Cloete's son came to an agreement. The Hottentots were permitted to graze their cattle on Cloete's farm twice a week.')

In 1799 the missionaries petitioned the English Governor because of the encroachment of two farmers on Baviaanskloof land.²²) matter was settled in favour of the missionaries after the land had been resurveyed.²³) All the land seized by the farmers was not returned because that would have endangered their financial position. Baviaanskloof was compensated by a grant of money towards the cultivation of the land returned.²⁴) After this no serious boundary disputes are on record except unfounded claims of certain residents in 1850 and 1907.²⁵)

the relations between the missionaries and the colonists improved steadily during the first British occupation. The number of visitors to the services held at Baviaanskloof increased. their attitude towards these services was no longer one of curiosity but one of religious sincerity. The missionaries permitted their slaves to attend.²⁶) From eighty to a hundred whites attended the Christmas and New Year services in 1801-2.²⁷) They were beginning to appreciate the value of Hottentots educated at Baviaanskloof and began to prefer

Christian servants to heathen.²⁸) When Lichtenstein visited the settlement he noted that cordial friendship existed between missionaries and the colonists.²⁹,

²⁰) BO 33 ~~Letter~~ Landdrost v.d. Riet to Craig, 9th Jun., 1796, Annex.

²¹) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1799.

²²) BO 33 Petition against encroachment by Moravians, 12th Jan., 1799.

²³) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1801.

²⁴) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. Mch. - Sept., 1802.

²⁵) Nchr. l. 1852: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1850; P. Accs. Sept., 1907: Report of Missions: South Africa West.

²⁶) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Jul., 1799 - Jan., 1800.

²⁷) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. 1801.

²⁸) *ibid.*, Kohnhammer G., to Secretary of the Society, 1st Jul., 1798.

²⁹) H. Lichtenstein, I, pp. 245-6.

After 1802 it was a regular practice for colonists to spend Christmas and New Year at Genadendal.³⁰⁾ The colonists were accommodated in the houses of Coloured residents.³¹⁾ Sometimes there were over twenty wagons on the 'wer t.'³²⁾ The number of people attending religious festivals decreased after 1850,³³⁾ although in 1869 nearly a hundred Whites attended the services at Easter.³⁴⁾ In general the attitude of the Europeans had changed, and it is noted with surprise in the diary of 16 Barea for 1872 that Europeans attended a service together with the Coloured inhabitants.³⁵⁾

The missionaries thus had opportunities to influence the religious views of their neighbour. They used hottentots to disperse tracts among the farmers. The wealthier the colonists grew in relation to the Coloureds the less frequently did this take place. Colonists soon showed that they were genuinely affected by the teaching of the brethren and special Meetings were held for them.³⁷⁾ In the early 1830ies the missionaries discerned a definite awakening among the farmers.") The Brethren frequently held burial services for deceased colonists in the vicinity.³⁹⁾ The religious influence of the missionaries over the colonists grew less when they were better served by their own clergy.

The services of the brethren on the outstations were also attended by colonists. Indeed some farmers made it possible for the brethren to found outstations on their farms.⁴⁰⁾

Healthy colonists occasionally gave valuable presents, for instance Baron Ludwig who presented English, Dutch and German books for the Genadendal library and a bell ringing apparatus for Kopjes Kasteel.⁴¹⁾ During the famine in 1822

Landdrost Schönberg of Swellendam opened a subscription for the

30) P. Accs. LIII: Diary G., Sept. - Dec., 1807; *ibid.*, ~~III~~ Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810.

31) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bkif. May, 1803 - Nov., 1804.

32) P. Accs. LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811.

33) Nchr. 5. 1860: Ber. G., Aug. - Dez., 1858.

34) *ibid.*, 2. 1871: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1869.

35) *ibid.*, 8. 1872: Ber. Barea, 1871.

36) Exs. P. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 8th Oct., 1834.

37) Nchr. ~~1831~~: 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

38) *ibid.*, 6. 1834: Ber. G., 1832.

39) e.g. P. Accs. CXOV 1847: Diary G., 1845; Nchr. 2. 1849: Ber. G., 1847.

40) Nchr. 2. 1844: Ber. G., 1841; *ibid.*, 4. 1851: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1850; P. Accs. No. 18. 1894: Visitation of Br. Buchner.

41) Nchr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

poor in Genadendal.⁴²⁾ The colonises, were, however, criticised by the Rev. J. Murray for not leading a Christian life themselves and thus setting an example to their servants.⁴³⁾

There was bound to be some social contact between the farmers and the Coloured inhabitants of the settlement. The missionaries realised from the very beginning that it caused vice and even crime among their charges when they **went out** to work for the farmers.⁴⁴⁾ There were the detrimental effects of migratory labour on family life. Both men and women labourers had to sleep in one room. by the tot system the labourers were given wine four to five times a day and sometimes instead of wages.⁴⁵⁾ No wonder missionaries expected to learn of regrettable incidents during the harvest season.⁴⁶⁾ One farmer gave his labourers plenty of wine but hardly ever money and when⁴⁷⁾ they wished to leave he made out that they owed him money.) 'canteens' were licensed in the neighbourhood of Genadendal through the efforts of enemies of the mission on the licensing boards.⁴⁸⁾ The

missionaries criticised the farmers in their accounts because they did not give their coloured labourers enough wages and in fact despised them.⁴⁹⁾

The European entered the village for other than religious reasons. In 1844 for instance a European arrived with a wagon and brazenly commenced to sell wine ignoring the requests of the Brethren and 'opzieners' to leave.⁵⁰⁾ In 1834 a White youth had to be ejected by the 'opzieners' because he was found in houses where there were women only.⁵¹⁾ in the 1860ies The young colonists apparently caused many

disturbances. The Brethren had to stop a Number of dances organised by whites in the village for their amusement.⁵²⁾ In 1869 the missionaries feared the visit of European at

42) Nehr. 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

43) P. Accs. CCLXI, 1863: Description of G., - Rev. J. Murray.

44) Exs. P. Accs. Diary Bk1f. May, 1803 - Nov., 1804; P. Accs. LXIX: Diary G., Jan. - Apr. 1813.

45) Nehr. 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

46) *ibid.*, 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

47) P. Accs. No. 399. 1885: Diary G., Jul., 1884 - Jul., 1885.

48) Nehr. 3. 1866: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1864.

49) *ibid.*, 4. 1894: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1892.

50) *ibid.*, 2. 1847: Ber. G., 1844.

51) *ibid.*, 6. 1836: Ber. G., 1834.

52) *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1857: Ber. G., 1856; *ibid.*, 10. 1871: Ber. G., 1870.

crew -ear because of the disturbances they caused.)

:here were some moves made by colonists aired at putting difficulties in the way of the missionaries. the attempt by the colonists to introduce individual tenure at

Genadendal in Parliament has been mentioned.⁵) The

interrogation of farmer neighbours showed that the instigators of this move had received most of their information from Christian Reitz , who had been excluded from the congregation and had caused the missionaries serious trouble by opening a 'canteen' in the village.⁵⁵) the farmers objected to the store at Genadendal and the supply of wine to the Coloureds by the missionaries.⁵⁶) An influential enemy of the mission caused the replacement of the Coloured constable by a white constable.⁵⁷) Colonists who looked at the mission were at the bottom of the movement to grant liquor licenses to inhabitants of Greyton. The aim was to make the stationing of a magistrate there necessary as it was felt that the magistrate at Caledon was too sympathetic towards the Coloureds.⁵⁸) according to the missionaries a malignant attack on Genadendal by a colonist in the Divisional Council was the reason for the high assessment of Genadendal for the purpose of a road tax.⁵⁹) Impassioned attacks on the mission

sometimes appeared in the press. In some cases the accusations were refuted by outsiders.⁶⁰) Some of the outcries led to government investigations of conditions at the station. Usually the conduct of the missionaries and the inhabitants of Genadendal was vindicated on such occasions.⁶¹)

Genadendal was never the cause for a political controversy.⁶²) The records of the United Brethren Mission hardly refer to the outburst against⁶³) The Moravians

53) Nchr. 2. 1871: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1869.

54) ibid., 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

55) C. of G. H. Appendix, Interrogation of farmers, 1856; Nchr. 5. 1860: Ber. G., Aug. - Dez., 1858.

56) Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 330-1.

57) Nchr. 2. 1854: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1852.

58) ibid., 3. 1866: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1864.

59) ibid., 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1886.

60) ibid., 3. 1866: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1864.

61) ibid., 3. 1851: Ber. G., 1849; P. Accs. Moravian Missions etc. Hallbeck, 5th Dec., 1823.

62) Nchr. 2. 1840: Ber. G., 1837.

63) P. Accs. No. 335, 1882: Retrospect of the Missionary Work of the Moravian Church during the past 50 years.

were especially excepted from the accusations which an agricultural society made in 1627 against the missionaries in

general.⁵⁴) political attacks on the Moravian stations only became serious during the 1850ies but were never widespread.

A non-farming section of the white population was highly sympathetic to the missionaries. The most important group of people who visited Genadendal and expressed admiration for the work done there consisted of high officials.

Frequently, especially in the early years, such people as officers from the Cape Town garrison or from ships in the harbour called.⁶⁵) Frequently the village was visited by persons⁶⁶ from overseas and often officials of the Indian government. In every cases they presented the mission with generous sums of money.⁶⁷) After 1846 these visits decreased as a result of the introduction of a steamship route via the Indian sea. The missionaries remark with regret that this development⁶⁸ was a loss to Cape Town and to the mission. The missionaries also received visits of sympathisers such as the la'.

Schmidt, who had acted as their host in 1792,⁶⁹) and Thomas Pringle, who was laid up in Genadendal after breaking his leg.⁷⁰)

The early relations of the Moravian with religious fellow workers were on the whole fairly cordial. in spite of Calvinist prejudice against the United Brethren some leading predikants, such as an bier and Jos, were great friends of the first missionaries.⁷¹) These relations improved rapidly after⁷² the inception of the South African Missionary Society. Relations with the Lutheran pastors in Cape town were always of the happiest.⁷³)

When Genadendal had become famous it was visited by

⁶⁴) Theal, Records, xxviii, p. 365.

⁶⁵) P. Accs. LX: Diary G., Sept. - Dec., 1809; *ibid.*, LX: Diary G., Jan. - Spt. 1810.

⁶⁶) *ibid.*, LXI: Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810.

⁶⁷) Mchr. 6. 1819: Jan. - Spt., 1818; *ibid.*, 1. 1822: Ber. G., Jan. - Spt. 1820.

⁶⁸) *ibid.*, 6. 1848: Ber. G., 1846.

⁶⁹) Exs. P. Accs. Short Reports Dec. - Jan., 1794-5.

⁷⁰) Mchr. 1. 1825: Ber. G., 1824.

⁷¹) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793 and Journal Bk. Mch., 1799.

⁷²) *ibid.*, Journal Bk. May 1803 - Nov., 1804.

⁷³) P. Accs. LXIII: Diary G., Aug., 1810 - Jun., 1811; *ibid.*, LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811; *ibid.*, CACV 1847: Diary G., 1845.

many missionaries, some of whom came for help and advice. ⁷⁴⁾
 the Brethren tried to dissuade Captain Gardiner from going
 to the 'Zoolahs', ⁷⁵⁾ they impressed Campbell with their in-
 stitution. ⁷⁶⁾ Dr. Philip visited Uenadendal twice and once
 spoke in English to those who could follow him in that lang-
 uage. ⁷⁷⁾ Converted Basusus of the Kiwis Evangelical Society,
 who had come with their teachers, talked to the congrega-
 tion in their own tongue 'with the aid of interpreters. ⁷⁸⁾
 The inhabitants of the village took ⁷⁹⁾ a great interest in the
 visit of the Reverend Head Junior. ⁸⁰⁾ relations with the
 Berlin and Rhenish societies were always excellent. ⁸¹⁾

⁷⁴⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 158-9; P. Accs. CCL, 1861: Kühn, G., 18th Dec., 1860.

⁷⁵⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 2nd Dec., 1854.

⁷⁶⁾ P. Accs. LXVI: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1812.

⁷⁷⁾ Nchr. l. 1828: Ber. G., 1825; *ibid.*, l. 1823: Ber. G., 1821.

⁷⁸⁾ *ibid.*, l. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

⁷⁹⁾ P. Accs. CCXXX, 1856: C.R. Kölbinger, G., 24th Spt., 1855.

⁸⁰⁾ *ibid.*, CCXXIII, 1854: D.W. Suhl, G., 21st Dec., 1853.

VII.

The Editor

reason for the favour with which the Government Brad the colonists looked upon the mission settlement at Genadendal were that it and the other Moravian stations, were supposed to be economically sound and that the inhabitants were taught to work and be thrifty. his opinion was usually arrived at after a comparison of Genadendal with Bethelsdorp. the Moravian missionaries themselves did not believe that the Bethelsdorp Hottentots were less industrious.¹ When a comparison like this is made it is necessary to take into account the time when the comparison was made. It must be remembered that Baviaanskloof-Genadendal had ten years start of Bethelsdorp. most of the criticisms of the latter station are found in early documents. in Genadendal the diligence of the Hottentots could easily be observed in the workshops, whereas the Bethelsdorp Coloureds were mainly agricultural workers. There were no village industries for lack of water and of suitable missionaries to teach trades. Moreover, the geographical factor must be considered. Genadendal in comparison with Bethelsdorp had undoubtedly the more advantageous setting.² It had a fairly abundant supply of water. water was available for the mill and irrigation. Although the soil was not very fertile it could be irrigated and in the Cape this is often important.⁵ Thus Breutel could write of Genadendal:

the gardens, which are well stocked with excellent vegetables, as well as with orange, peach, and rose-trees, afford sustenance to the body and pleasure to the eyes. A fine plantation of forest-trees surrounds them, Genadendal is proof of what industry can effect in South Africa, where an ample supply of water can be obtained, and in a locality in which the temperate and the torrid zones seem to join hands.')

Genadendal was, however, not a Garden of Eden and, especially in the beginning the Missionaries and the use of inhabitants had to contend with many difficulties caused by their environment. The abundance of water was not an unmixed blessing. Fairly frequently the gardens and cornlands were damaged by floods, Such as for instance in 1801 and in 1878 when a hundred gardens and many houses are

1) Select Committee Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

2) J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, 1939. p. 323. 347.

3) Theal, Records, xxv. p. 328.

4) P. Accs. CCXXIII, 1854: Breutel to Mission Directory (no date)

5) Mehr. 1. 1834: Ber. G., 1831; *ibid.*, 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878.

In the early years the agricultural and pastoral activities of the inhabitants were hampered by the attacks of wild animals. After the Hottentots had killed a large 'wolf' (probably a leopard) in March, 1799 the missionaries exclaimed:

"We were glad to have destroyed so great an enemy to our stock, for there are enough of other descriptions, tigers, jackals, musk-cats, ... with whom we are continually at war."⁶⁾

Baboons were a menace to the gardens as late as 1890, and a leopard was seen in the grounds at the same time.⁷⁾

Another great danger that was continually threatening Genadendal was the threat of veld fires. The parched veld during the summer increased the danger of fires.⁸⁾ When a veld fire threatened the bell on the 'werft' was rung and as many people as possible would gather together to fight it.⁹⁾ The village possessed a fire-engine as early as 1812 but it was of little use against grass fires.¹⁰⁾ The buildings on the 'werft' and in the settlement with their thatched roofs were and still are very vulnerable to fire. That they were never burnt down even after the fire-fighters had given up hope of saving them was felt to be due to divine intervention. In January, 1878 the wind turned;¹¹⁾ on another occasions there was rain.¹²⁾

The money required to run the institution came from both outside and inside Genadendal. The main income was derived from contributions of the Elder's Conference and from wealthy sympathisers of the mission. In the early years funds were made available by the Society of Friends of the United Brethren's Mission in Holland. It together with the Zeys settlement raised most of the money required at Beviaanskloof up till 1800.¹³⁾ Later other societies such as the London Association of Friends of the United Brethren's Missions also played an important part in the collection of funds.¹⁴⁾

⁶⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Mch., 1799.

⁷⁾ P. Accs. No. 4. 1890: Son of Dr. Drury, G., 29th May, 1890.

⁸⁾ P. Accs. LXV: Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1812; *ibid.*, CXXIX, 1853: C.R. Esling, G., 14th Feb., 1853.

⁹⁾ Nchr. 1. 1834: Ber. G., 1831.

¹⁰⁾ P. Accs. LXV: Diary G., 1812.

¹¹⁾ Nchr. 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878.

¹²⁾ Cape Argus: Saturday, 19. Sept. 1953.

¹³⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Advertisement, 1800; H.G. Schneider, G., p. 179.

¹⁴⁾ Nchr. 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854; *ibid.*, 3. 1868: Ber. G., Jun., 1865 - Dec., 1866.

Frequently the accounts enumerate gifts of clothing, bibles and books from these societies.¹⁵⁾ Individuals also gave gifts, such as a fire-engine, medicines,¹⁶⁾ a handmill,¹⁷⁾ an organ for the Genadendal church,¹⁸⁾ and clothing.¹⁹⁾ The distribution of presents of clothing or similar gifts was difficult.²⁰⁾ In some cases such gifts were sold at low prices and the money was used for the poor box.²¹⁾

In times of need special remissions were made by the Elder's Conference and the friends of the mission. This was the case in the disastrous years of 1822-3.²²⁾ Special donations were also made when a new church was erected, for example at Berea,²³⁾ or for the present Church in Genadendal.²⁴⁾

A certain amount of financial help was offered from within the Cape Colony. In 1795 and in 1799-1800 the government of the Colony provided the timber necessary for the erection of a church gratis.²⁵⁾ In the building of the first house at Baviaanskloof, Peunissen procured the building material for the first house at reduced prices.²⁶⁾

Before 1846 an important source of such money was made by donations of visitors, mainly officials from India. Slaves, in a position to earn money, also made contributions for the poor.²⁷⁾ A number of colonists sympathetic towards the mission sent aid. Landdrost Schönberg and Baron Ludwig have been mentioned. Later certain farmers provided land for outstations and contributed money for the rection of chapels. The Coloured members of the congregations on the outstations

15) e.g. P. Accs. LXI: Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810; Mchr. 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

16) P. Accs. LXIII: ^{Diary} ~~Diary~~ G., Aug., 1810 - Jun., 1811.

17) *ibid.*, LXI: Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810.

18) Mchr. 6. 1834: Ber. G., 1832.

19) *ibid.*, 8. 1819: Ber. G., 1817.

20) *ibid.*, 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

21) *ibid.*, 1. 1822: Jan. - Sept., 1820, Ber. G.,

22) *ibid.*, 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822; P. Accs. Moravian Missions etc., Hallbeck, G., 29th Apr., 1824.

23) Mchr. 3. 1868: Ber. Berea, Jun., 1865 - Dez., 1866.

24) P. Accs. No. 14, 1893: A Red Letter Day for G.

25) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1795 & Jul. - Dec., 1799; B0 33 Petition of Baviaanskloof Missionaries for permission to erect a Church.

26) Mchr. 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

27) *ibid.*, 6. 1819: Ber. G., Jan. - Sept., 1818.

28) P. Accs. CCXV: C.L. Teutsch, G., 25th Mch., 1852.

also collected funds.²⁸⁾

The missionaries aim from the beginning was to make the settlement self-sufficient. They therefore, commenced to teach the congregation to pay its way. The first suggestion to the chapel-servants and the congregation was to pay for the lighting of the church. Consequently the first church fee consisted of either a certain weight of tallow to be supplied when stock was slaughtered or sixpence a year.²⁹⁾ In 1802 the members of the congregation decided to pay an annual church fee of one shilling.³⁰⁾ In the course of time the amount was increased until in June, 1866 it was fixed at 6 shillings for men over 17 years and 4 shillings for women.³¹⁾ However, the willingness to pay was no longer general. In 1870 some members sent a petition to the Governor complaining that they were being forced to pay the fee.³²⁾ Although the petition was not considered by the Governor the contribution was not paid by approximately thirty percent of the members.³³⁾ There were regular collections in church for special purposes, for instance, for mission work in other fields,³⁴⁾ and the collection of funds for the new church between 1891 and 1893. The Hottentots in the village managed to raise a sum of £1225 over a period of three years for their new church.³⁵⁾

The idea of work for the good of the congregation was always present. When the first church was built in 1799-1800 the women and children gathered stones for the foundation and burnt bricks while the men transported the timber granted by the government.³⁶⁾ The present church was also built with the help of members of the congregation.³⁷⁾ Repair work and improvements on buildings and property used by the congregation were also carried out on a co-operative basis for example the upkeep of the burial ground.³⁸⁾

28) P. Accs. CCLV: C.L. Teutsch, G., 25th Mch., 1852.

29) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bkif. Jan. - Feb., 1799.

30) *ibid.*, Journal Bkif. Mch. - Spt., 1802.

31) Nchr. 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

32) *ibid.*, 10. 1871; Ber. G., Jan. - Jul., 1870.

33) *ibid.*, 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878.

34) *ibid.*, 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

35) P. Accs. No. 14, 1893: A Red Letter Day for G.,

36) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bkif. Jul. - Dec., 1799.

37) P. Accs. No. 14, 1893: A Red Letter Day for Genadendal.

38) Nchr. 1. 1823: Ber. G., Apr. - Spt., 1821; *ibid.*, 3. 1878: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1877.

As the mission was to be self-sufficient in order to grow their own food the first three Brethren commenced with preparation of ground for a garden in March, 1793,³⁹⁾ and later planted a vineyard.⁴⁰⁾ Soon the garden supplied most of their provisions.⁴¹⁾ and was admired by visitors.⁴²⁾ Their first attempts to keep cattle and goats were not successful, but soon the Brethren learnt how to look after them.⁴³⁾ The missionaries, however, it should be noted never used the land for their own profit.⁴⁴⁾

The 'industries' established on the station were to earn a profit to defray expenses incurred on the station. The energetic Kühnel established the knife manufacturing department. By 1797 his knives were being bought and sold in Cape Town at double the price.⁴⁵⁾ Kühnel had to make the tools necessary to shape the knives himself, with the help of his Hottentot labourers.⁴⁶⁾ In the beginning these knives produced the main income on the station. In 1808, however, they brought in only 300-400 Rds. annually.⁴⁷⁾ Later the manufacture of cutlery became less important.

A smithy was built in 1811.⁴⁸⁾ When Latrobe visited the settlement the combined cutlery and smithy employed 14 Hottentots.⁴⁹⁾ The smithy was mainly used to manufacture ironwork needed on the station.⁵⁰⁾ In 1847 ploughshares were produced in it.⁵¹⁾

The mill, built in 1797 to grind corn for the Hottentots and the missionaries⁵²⁾ was soon used by colonists as well.⁵³⁾ The mill was continually being improved. In 1818

39) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

40) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1797.

41) *ibid.*, (as note 40)

42) Lady Anne Barnard's Journal pp. 183; H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 249; J. Barrow, I, p. 309.

43) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1795.

44) CO 677 Memorial of United Brethren Missionaries, 11th Feb., 1856. Mission had: one span of oxen, a few cows and 4 horses, a few sheep for slaughter.

45) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Dec., 1797.

46) H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 250.

47) Theal, Records, vi, p. 347.

48) Mchr. 3. 1837: Bericht des Bruder Hallbeck.

49) C.I. Latrobe, p. 396-7.

50) Mchr. 3. 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai 1821.

51) P. Accs. CXCVIII: C.R. Eßling, G., 26th Oct., 1847.

52) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1797.

53) H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 250.

new millstones from the Rhine arrived. They were both better and cheaper than those hewn at Stellenbosch.⁵⁴⁾ In 1826 a new and larger waterwheel for the mill was fitted,⁵⁵⁾ and in 1864 a new mill was erected by Klinghardt.⁵⁶⁾ The mill was still in use a few years ago.⁵⁷⁾

Of the other trades introduced with the double aim of training craftsmen and of bringing in money for the mission the joiner's shop erected in 1811⁵⁸⁾ and the tannery, must be mentioned. An Irishman was engaged for the express purpose of starting the latter in 1828.⁵⁹⁾ It was still producing in 1884.⁶⁰⁾ Bigge mentions wheelwrights in 1823,⁶¹⁾ but wagon-making soon ceased to be a profitable undertaking. In 1862 Lady Duff Gordon met "a carpenter, a cabinet-maker, a shoe-maker, a storekeeper..."⁶²⁾ Towards the end of the Century new industries were introduced by the missionaries to provide the inhabitants with a means of making a living.

The 'store' was run by the missionaries for the good of the Hottentots. Since the Hottentots at first had no sense of the value of money they were easily duped by the farmers who supplied them with necessities. The missionaries strongly advised the villagers to buy from their store.⁶³⁾ The 'store' did, however, assist the station in its efforts towards self-support.⁶⁴⁾

The money derived from the Mission Directory and from the station's 'industries' was spent in various ways. Clothing and food for the 'missionary family' was not very expensive as the missionaries only received small salaries. When buildings had to be erected the expenses rose.⁶⁵⁾ In

⁵⁴⁾ Nchr. 6. 1820: Ber. G., Okt. - Dez., 1818.

⁵⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

⁵⁶⁾ *ibid.*, 9. 1865: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1864.

⁵⁷⁾ Information from S. Weder.

⁵⁸⁾ Nchr. 3. 1837: ~~Ber. G.~~, Bericht des Hr. Hallbeck.

⁵⁹⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

⁶⁰⁾ P. Accs. No. 399, 1885: Diary G., Jul., 1884 - Jul., 1885.

⁶¹⁾ Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 329.

⁶²⁾ Lady Duff Gordon, p. 106.

⁶³⁾ Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 330.

⁶⁴⁾ P. Accs. No. 22. 1895.

⁶⁵⁾ *ibid.*, CXI, 1826: Hallbeck, G., 19th Dec., 1825; *ibid.*, CCXXI, 1866: W.F. Bechler, G., 9th Mch., 1866; H. G. Schneider G., p. 152-6. Expenses paid by Mission Directory:

1793-3 6255 Rds.

1799 7621 Rds. (Building of church.)

1808 the task of making Genadendal financially independent was judged to be impossible. The only income from the station had been the 300-400 Rds. from Kühnelt's knives.⁶⁶⁾ In 1820, however, when the expenses of the 'missionary family' amounted to 6,000 Rds. or £500 the deficit was only £19.⁶⁷⁾ Genadendal reports a surplus in 1834 only, but it is a fairly large sum of £400 and it covered all the deficits in the Western Province in that year.⁶⁸⁾ In 1865, when the Berea church was erected the station definitely needed outside financial aid.⁶⁹⁾ In 1882 the Western Province stations had again been financially independent for a number of years,⁷⁰⁾ but the 1880ies brought depression to the Cape and the Western Province stations were not self-supporting again till 1890.⁷¹⁾ This 'financial independence' refers only to current expenditure.⁷²⁾

To judge the standard of living at Genadendal the following fact should be considered. The village grew haphazardly, mainly on the sides of the valley⁷³⁾ so that the lower lying valuable irrigable garden land could be reserved for cultivation.⁷⁴⁾ It differs in this respect from its sister stations at Anon⁷⁵⁾ and Elim. Lichtenstein described the village as follows:

"Zweihundert Häuser und Hütten mit daran stossenden kleinen Gärten, in ordentliche Strassen vertheilt, gaben diesem Ort vollkommen das Ansehen eines europäischen Dorfes..."⁷⁶⁾

A description of the village at the end of the century shows that it had changed little:

66) Theal, Records, vi, p. 347.

67) Miss. Reg. Jan., 1821: Survey of Protestant Missions.

68) P. Accs. CXLVIII, 1835: Hallbeck, G., May, 1835.

69) Ibid., CCLXXI, 1866: W.F. Bechler, 9th Mo., 1866.

70) Ibid., No. 335, 1882: Retrospect of Moravian Missions in the last 150 years.

71) Ibid., No. 4, 1890: The Western Province.

72) Ibid., No. 6, 1891: Appeal on behalf of the new church, A.G. Hettasch.

73) C.I. Latrobe, p. 94.

74) P. Accs. CCLXI, 1863: Description of G., - Rev. J. Murray.

75) Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 329.

76) H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 246-7. (The two hundred houses and huts with the adjoining small garden plots, divided neatly into streets, gave the place the atmosphere of a European village.)

"The village, with its fruitful gardens, wonderfully beautiful just now in their fresh young verdure, adjoins the missionary quarter, and fills the basin of the valley in every direction. Genadendal has three thousand inhabitants, and is divided into several sections, Sevenfontein, Klipperstrasse, Vlei, Bergstrasse and Kornlandskloof....⁷⁷⁾

The number of houses at Baviaanskloof in 1799 was 228, these were probably huts.⁷⁸⁾ Latrobe counted 256 "cottages and huts."⁷⁹⁾ In 1820 there are 288 houses and 90 of these are walled.⁸⁰⁾ During the critical years^{of 1822} and after the numbers of dwellings decreased appreciably. In that year there were only 246 houses of which 85 were walled.⁸¹⁾ This tendency continued till 1826, when there were only 219 houses in the village.⁸²⁾ After that, however, there was a gradual increase⁸³⁾ until in 1833 there are again 253 dwellings of which 117 are walled.⁸⁴⁾ The emancipation of the slaves had an effect on the number of houses in the village. In 1847 there were 260 larger and smaller houses and 217 huts.⁸⁵⁾ There was no great increase after this and in 1875 a government census showed that there were 482 houses.⁸⁶⁾

There were thus two types of houses in the village. In 1798 they were described as follows:

"The huts were of clay, thatched with rushes, some square as in Ireland, others round in the original Hottentot fashion, and brought up to the top without rushes, a hole only being left in the middle to serve as a vent, and another for the door."⁸⁷⁾

The huts were built in the native manner by driving poles into the ground in a circle, twelve feet in diameter, bending them and tying them at the top so that the centre of the framework was five feet from the ground. This structure was covered with matting and skins and it was necessary to

77) P. Accs. No. 13, 1893: Visitation by Br. Buchner 1892-3.

78) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Jul., 1799 - Jan., 1800.

79) C.I. Latrobe, p. 92.

80) Nchr. 3. 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai, 1821.

81) *ibid.*, 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

82) *ibid.*, 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

83) *ibid.*, 5. 1829: Ber. G., 1827; *ibid.*, 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828; *ibid.*, 3. 1833: Ber. G., 1830; *ibid.*, 1. 1834: Ber. G., 1831.

84) Exs. P. Accs. Diary G., 1833.

85) Nchr. 2. 1849: Ber. G., 1847.

86) P. Accs. No. 308, 1875: Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1875.

87) Lady Anne Barnard, p. 185.

creep into the hole left on the one side.⁸⁸⁾ Most of the walled houses were probably built in the following manner. Clay was broken up with plough and harrow. The material won in this way was drawn to the building site by oxen in a bullock's hide. The clay was then formed into bricks and the wall built a foot high on the first day after which it had to be left to dry for a day. The wall was gradually raised until the roof could be put on. In some cases the gable ends were built with burnt bricks.⁸⁹⁾ The cottages were usually divided into two apartments, one for cooking and sleeping and the other for storing field and garden products.⁹⁰⁾ Some of the houses were not very well built and in some cases collapsed, injuring the inmates.⁹¹⁾ The building of solid houses was subsidized by the mission from money received in the difficult years of 1822-3. Nevertheless many of the houses were still of rushes and clay in 1842.⁹²⁾ The subsidizing of houses was continued till 1853 when the money was appropriated for schools and churches.⁹³⁾

Some of the better off residents had fairly respectable houses. Lichtenstein says that the chapel-servants, usually the most well to do, had houses very similar to those of the colonists on the border.⁹⁴⁾ Lady Duff Gordon lived in such a house in 1862:

"The cottage was thus:- One large hall; my bedroom on the right, Sally's (her English maid) on the left; the kitchen behind me; Miss Reitz behind Sally; mud floors daintily washed over with fresh cow-dung; ceiling of big rafters just as they had grown, on which rested bamboo canes close together a c r o s s the rafters, and bound together between each with transverse bamboo - a pretty b e e h i v e effect; at top, mud again, and then a high thatched roof and a loft or solder for forage, &c., the walls of course mud, very thick and white washed."⁹⁵⁾

In 1873 a house was built by one of the inhabitants which cost £100 and for which the owner paid cash!⁹⁶⁾ But these were exceptions.

88) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

89) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

90) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1799.

91) P. Accs. LXI: Diary G., Mch., - Jul., 1810.

92) Mchr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

93) P. Accs. CCXX, 1853: C.R. Kölbinger, G., 12th Jun., 1853.

94) H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 252.

95) Lady Duff Gordon p. 102-3.

96) Mchr. 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

The mud houses sometimes did not stand up to heavy rain as in April, 1878.

"Trübselig sah es nach diesem Regen in den Häusern aus, deren Dächer in schlechtem Zustand waren. In mehreren derselben war kein trocknes Plätzchen zu finden; ganze Familien hatten diese Nacht nicht viel besser, denn in Freien zugebracht. Gar kläglich hatten es die Kranken, die in solchen Häusern lagen. Besonders traurig sah es aus in dem Häuschen von Benjamin und Rosalie January. Dasselbe ist kaum hoch genug, um darin stehen zu können; ein schrecklicher Geruch drang den Eintretenden entgegen; der Fußboden war ein Sumpf." ⁹⁷⁾

Lady Anne Barnard tells us what the inside of the simpler Hottentot huts looked like.

"I entered one or two of the round ones, - the Hottentots were out, working in the field; furniture there was none, a few sticks were in the centre to boil their kettle, and tied to the sticks of the roof were a few skins, some calabashes, an iron pot, a couple of spoons made of bits of wood, to the end of which a deep shell was spliced and tied on, some calabash ladles and bowls." ⁹⁸⁾

The fireplaces were open and raised a foot above the ground. In the evening the inhabitants of the dwelling sat on the raised fire place feeding the fire with twigs. As a result children often fell in and were burned, sometimes even to death. ⁹⁹⁾

In 1862, the cottages were described thus:

"All were neat and clean, with good dressers of crockery; the v e r y poorest, like the worst in Weybridge sandpits; but they had no glass windows, only a wooden shutter, and no doors; a calico curtain, or a sort of hurdle supplying its place." ¹⁰⁰⁾

The general impression the houses made on a visitor in 1892 is not much different:

"The houses of the natives ... have mud walls.

Mother Earth also constitutes the floor. Though they are all of the same primitive material, and but one storey in height, one sees great variety, for example, in the number, size and form of the windows. Some indeed have no windows whatever,

⁹⁷⁾ Nchr. 5. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878. (It was miserable after this rain in those houses with defective roofs. In many of them there was not a dry place to be found; whole families passed the night not much better than if they had been out in the open. The sick in such houses were in a sorrowful condition. It was especially bad in the hut of Benjamin and Rosalie January. It is hardly high enough to stand upright; a terrible stench meets the visitor; the floor was a morass.)

⁹⁸⁾ Lady Anne Barnard p. 185.

⁹⁹⁾ Nchr. 5. 1852: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1851.

¹⁰⁰⁾ Lady Duff Gordon, p. 103.

but receive air and light only through the door. ... Their dwellings consist of one living room, one sleeping room and a kitchen; most of them are kept neat, and furnished with tables and clean beds."¹⁰¹⁾

When the missionaries arrived the Hottentots were clothed in sheepskins. One small skin was worn around the waist while another, which was discarded for work, was draped over the shoulders. Their children were carried on the backs of the mothers under the cover of a sheepskin held up by a thong. Both sexes carried bags made of gazelle skins for tobacco-pipe, flint and steel. There was vermin in the sheepskin clothing of the Hottentots. The only way they knew to get rid of it was to beat the skins with sticks. The missionaries tried to promote cleanliness among their charges.¹⁰²⁾ They continued to wear their sheepskins on weekdays, but soon they began to wear clothes they received from the farmer's wives in lieu of payment on Sundays.¹⁰³⁾ Thus when in 1798 Lady Anne Barnard attended an evening service on a week-day, the congregation were all "dressed in the skins of animals."¹⁰⁴⁾ On a Sunday about half of the three hundred people in the congregation were dressed "in coarse printed cottons, and the other half in sheep-skin dresses,..."¹⁰⁵⁾ Lichtenstein noticed that the well to do wore European dress whilst the poorer class still wore skins;

"Sie gehen nach Bauernart in leinernen Wämsern und ledernen Beinkleidern und tragen Hüte, die Frauen in wollenen Röcken, baumwollenen Camisolen mit langen Ärmeln und Hauben. Die niedrigere, rohere Klasse kleidet sich zwar noch in Felle, doch wird durchaus auf Reinlichkeit gehalten und keine Nacktheit geduldet."¹⁰⁶⁾

In Latrobe's time some men were still clothed in karosses and leather aprons. Most of the residents wore European dress for the Sunday services and even dressed their children in linen and calico shirts and dresses.¹⁰⁷⁾ In 1842 the

¹⁰¹⁾ P. Accs. No. 13, 1893: Visitation by Br. Buchner 1892-3

¹⁰²⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

¹⁰³⁾ *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1795.

¹⁰⁴⁾ Lady Anne Barnard, p. 180.

¹⁰⁵⁾ J. Barrow, I, p. 310.

¹⁰⁶⁾ E. Lichtenstein, I, p. 252. (They dress after the 'peasant' fashion in linen jackets and leather trousers and carry hats, the women go in woollen skirts, and cotton blouses with long sleeves and bonnets. The lower, more primitive class still wear skins, but cleanliness is expected of them and no nakedness is permitted.)

¹⁰⁷⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 93-4.

Brethren themselves complain that the boys often wore nothing but a shirt or a pair of trousers, the girls only a dress of cotton and they blame the inhabitants' lack of thrift for this.¹⁰⁸⁾ In 1862 Lady Duff Gordon was impressed with the smartness of dress of the congregation and she praises the cleanliness of the residents.

"Also they are very clean people, addicted to tubbing more than any others. ... They are also far cleaner in their huts than any but the v e r y b e s t English poor."¹⁰⁹⁾

The efforts of the Brethren to teach their wards cleanliness had thus had a measure of success.

Buchner was surprised at the number of people at Genadendal who suffered from lung and bronchial diseases. He ascribed the frequency of this affliction to their irregular habits of living.¹¹⁰⁾ Presumably a great number were affected by tuberculosis.¹¹¹⁾ Genadendal was a haven for lepers as late as 1861.¹¹²⁾ The village was occasionally ravaged by epidemics and a disease, apparently typhoid fever caused the death of 162 Hottentots in 1800.¹¹³⁾ From 1865 to 1867 the same disease returned. It had a disastrous effect on the income of the village as farmers would not employ labourers from Genadendal for fear of infection.¹¹⁴⁾ The first severe outbreak of small-pox in the settlement was in 1858.¹¹⁵⁾ In spite of the efforts of Brother Roser, who had 3,000 inhabitants vaccinated in the course of a few days,¹¹⁶⁾ there were 29 cases of whom 10 were fatal.¹¹⁷⁾ There was a second outbreak of this disease in 1882 when the 'Drummond Castle' brought the infection to the Cape. There were 235 cases of whom 64 died. The missionaries had to organize relief. Some colonists sent help, five sent

¹⁰⁸⁾ Nchr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

¹⁰⁹⁾ Lady Duff Gordon, p. 104-5.

¹¹⁰⁾ P. Accs. No. 13, 1893: Visitation of Br. Buchner 1892-3

¹¹¹⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1799; P. Accs. CCXXIII, 1854: D.W. Suhl, G., 21st Dec., 1853; Nchr. 1. 1831; Ber. G., 1828.

¹¹²⁾ Nchr. 11. & 12. 1862: Ber. G., 1861; *ibid.*, 3. 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai, 1821; *ibid.*, 6. 1820: Ber. G., Okt. - Dez., 1818.

¹¹³⁾ Exs. P. Accs. C.L. Rose, 24th Aug., 1800; Nchr. 3. 1837: Bericht von Br. Hallbeck.

¹¹⁴⁾ Nchr. 6. 1867: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1865; *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866; *ibid.*, 2. 1869: Ber. G., 1867.

¹¹⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 5. 1860; Ber. G., Aug. - Dez., 1858.

¹¹⁶⁾ P. Accs. CCXLIII, 1859: Roser, G., 12th Nov., 1858.

¹¹⁷⁾ *ibid.*, CCXLIV, 1859: C.R. K3lbing, G., 19th May, 1859.

money and one²/₄ wagon load of fish. A member of the Upper House persuaded the government to place the sum of £70 at the disposal of the missionaries.¹¹⁸⁾ Shortly before Genadendal had suffered from an attack of epidemic dysentery which started in 1880¹¹⁹⁾ and raged throughout 1881.¹²⁰⁾ The village also experienced epidemics of whooping-cough and measles. The missionaries blamed the careless nursing of the children by their parents as the cause of many ~~rather~~ deaths.¹²¹⁾

In good years the diet of the inhabitants of Genadendal was fairly balanced. The staple food was wheat as is evident from the anxiety with which the missionaries followed the price of corn.¹²²⁾ In 1818 Hallbeck calculated the consumption of a thrifty family with two non-earning children. He found that their weekly average consumption was one 'emmer' (56½ litres) of wheat, 4 lbs. meat, 3-4 lbs. rice, and 2-3 lbs mutton fat besides the vegetables that they produced in their garden.¹²³⁾ In a good fruit season Genadendal had an abundance of deciduous and citrus fruit.¹²⁴⁾ The inhabitants were, however, not at a loss when the harvest of wheat was bad. They fell back on 'veldkos' and gathered edible bulbs.¹²⁵⁾ In 1801 during a famine the inhabitants of the village had to fall back on acorns and roots for subsistence.¹²⁶⁾ There were also wild almonds which when cooked were nourishing. In the difficult 1820ies these were an important part of the diet of the villagers.¹²⁷⁾ When hard pressed the inhabitants of Genadendal migrated to the coast where they could subsist on fish.¹²⁸⁾

A large amount of the food supply of the Hottentots

118) Nchr. 10. 1883: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1882.

119) *ibid.*, 7. 1881: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1880; *ibid.*, 8. 1881: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1880.

120) Nchr. Nov., 1882: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1881.

121) *ibid.*, 5. 1857: Ber. G., 1855; *ibid.*, 1. 1862: Ber. G., 1860.

122) e.g. P. Accs. CCLXXVI, 1867: Diary Berea, Jul. - Dec., 1866.

123) CO 102, Answers to Queries by H.P. Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

124) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 103.

125) CO 102, Answers to Queries by H.P. Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

126) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bkif. 1801.

127) Nchr. 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

128) *ibid.*, (as note 127); *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

came from the gardens and arable land of the settlement, especially after they had learnt the rudiments of agriculture from the Brethren. From the very earliest beginnings, however, there was a certain amount of migratory labour, especially during the harvest season. As the population increased and the demand for clothing and other commodities grew the proportion of people, especially men, who earned their living outside the settlement increased.

The labourers from Genadendal enjoyed a very good reputation for diligence and industriousness among the European population.¹²⁹⁾ In 1798 the Brethren claimed that the farmers preferred to employ Christian Hottentots from Genadendal.¹³⁰⁾ A certain section of the farmers no longer thought so in 1856.¹³¹⁾

The labourers from the institution probably merited the reputation they enjoyed. Hallbeck was of the opinion that the converts of other societies were probably as diligent.¹³²⁾ Another reason for their dependability was that the Genadendalers hailed from a more settled community than existed on stations nearer to the border of the Colony. The section of the Cape where it was situated was tranquil.

The men who left Genadendal to seek work found employment mainly as agricultural labourers until after the discovery of diamonds in the Kimberley area in 1869.

In 1797 Barrow stated that "some hire themselves out by the week, month, or year, to the neighbouring peasantry."¹³³⁾ Soon there was a regular exodus during the ploughing and harvest months.¹³⁴⁾ The missionaries realised that the Hottentots were forced to leave the settlement in order to earn a living, but they were of the opinion that with a little more diligence they could have subsisted on the land at the institution.¹³⁵⁾ During the ploughing season mainly men went out to work.¹³⁶⁾ In April, 1825 out of 1242 inhabitants only 923 were present, but of the 320 persons absent half were

¹²⁹⁾ Theal, Records, ix, p. 74ff.

¹³⁰⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Kohnhammer to Secretary of the Society, G., 1st Jul., 1798.

¹³¹⁾ C. of G. H. Interrogation of farmers. 1856.

¹³²⁾ Select Committee Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

¹³³⁾ J. Barrow, I, p. 309-10.

¹³⁴⁾ Theal Records, ix, p. 74ff.

¹³⁵⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Ekkl. Nov. - Dec., 1801; *ibid.*, Journal Ekkl. May, 1803 - Nov. 1804.

¹³⁶⁾ Nchr. 6. 1848: Ber. G., 1846.

¹³⁷⁾ *ibid.*, I. 1828: Ber. G., 1825.

¹³⁸⁾ *ibid.*, I. 1848: Ber. G., 1846; *ibid.*, II. & 12. 1862:

away for the ploughing season only.¹³⁷⁾ At harvest increasingly large numbers of both sexes and all ages left the village leaving behind only those who had to take care of the gardens. The harvesting usually began in November but sometimes already in October.¹³⁸⁾ The labourers returned in the beginning of January. The schools and classes for instruction were normally resumed in the second week of January.¹³⁹⁾ Difficult times caused an increase in the number of absentee labourers. They also increased the length of time they stayed away as then they went to more distant parts.¹⁴⁰⁾ Bad harvests affected the labourers in a two-fold way: their own gardens produced little and the amount of work they were able to get outside the settlement was reduced.¹⁴¹⁾

Before 1828 the Genadendalers must have been in a better position to bargain for wages than the Hottentots who lived on the farms.¹⁴²⁾ In 1823 labourers on the farms received 14d. a day,¹⁴³⁾ and in 1843 they received one Ryksdaler or 15d. They received besides meat three times a day and wine five times a day.¹⁴⁴⁾ Some of the labourers, however, were in debt to the colonists and had to work off their debt throughout one season.¹⁴⁵⁾ In some cases wine was given instead of money.¹⁴⁶⁾ After 1869 the wages ~~by~~ paid by mines and in the railways proved more attractive than those paid by farmers.¹⁴⁷⁾

After 1870, other factors aggravated the situation. Agricultural machinery was being introduced into the Western Cape. This meant less work on the farms.¹⁴⁸⁾ Besides, farm work did not afford a steady income right through the year.¹⁴⁹⁾

¹³⁷⁾ Nchr. 1. 1828: Ber. G., 1825.

¹³⁸⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1846; *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1862: Ber. G., 1861.

¹³⁹⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1821: Ber. G., Jan. - März, 1819.

¹⁴⁰⁾ Miss. Reg. Apr., 1823: Diary G., 1822.

¹⁴¹⁾ Nchr. 6. 1821: Ber. G., Jan. - März, 1819.

¹⁴²⁾ J.S. Marais, p. 152-3.

¹⁴³⁾ Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 330.

¹⁴⁴⁾ Nchr. 1. 1846: Ber. G., 1843.

¹⁴⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 2. 1840: Ber. G., 1837.

¹⁴⁶⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1888: Ber. G., 1886.

¹⁴⁷⁾ *ibid.*, 4. 1894: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1892.

¹⁴⁸⁾ F. Accs. No. 349, 1885: Diary G., Jul., 1884 - Jul., 1885; Nchr. 1. 1888: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1886.

¹⁴⁹⁾ Nchr. 4. 1894: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1892.

When, as in the 1880ies, little work could be had on the railways, Genadendal suffered. There was an arrear in tax of about 5,000 Marks (£250) in that year.¹⁵⁰⁾

The first example of non-agricultural work outside Genadendal was found by the young men on the road to Grahamstown in 1845. They received a Ryksdaler (1/6) a day plus food,¹⁵¹⁾ Perhaps the soldiers might be classified as migratory labour, although they did not always get regularly paid. It was different with the wagon drivers in 1880-1 who worked for remuneration only.¹⁵²⁾

The discovery of diamonds in the Kimberley area opened up new opportunities for work outside Genadendal. Already in 1869 some young men left for the mines.¹⁵³⁾

The male population of Genadendal found a remunerative field of work when the railway from Wellington to the diamond fields was built from 1873 onwards.¹⁵⁴⁾ In 1876 there were as many as 400 labourers working on the line beyond Worcester. They earned from 2 to 5 shillings a day.¹⁵⁵⁾ The missionaries estimated that until the railway had reached Beaufort West, when a number of the villagers were discharged, about £1,000 reached Genadendal annually from the railways. Of course not all the money the labourers earned was sent to the village.¹⁵⁶⁾ Conditions along the line were in some cases terrible. Some of the contractors who employed Genadendalers exploited them ruthlessly with the result that some labourers did not have the money to pay for the return journey from Beaufort West to Genadendal. They had to walk back a distance of 500 miles!¹⁵⁷⁾

As the line advanced into the interior it became increasingly difficult for men from Genadendal to find work on the railway. The exodus to the towns, especially Cape Town increased correspondingly. There were sufficient people in Cape Town for the erection of the Moravian church in 1886.¹⁵⁸⁾

150) Nchr. 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1886.

151) P. Accs. CXCV, 1847: Diary G., 1845; Nchr. 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

152) Nchr. März 1882: Ber. G., Jan - Jun., 1881.

153) *ibid.*, 4. 1873: Ber. G., 1871.

154) *ibid.*, 9. 1874: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun. 1873.

155) *ibid.*, 6. 1877: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1876.

156) *ibid.*, 7. 1881: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1880.

157) *ibid.*, 3. 1885: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1883; *ibid.*, 5. 1885: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1884.

158) *ibid.*, 1. 1888: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1886.

After that year the number of people going to Cape Town increased.¹⁵⁹⁾

This, as has been pointed out, affected the ratio of men to women in the latter's favour. In 1826 at the festival for married couples 99 pairs took part, three single men (whose wives were absent) and 40 single women (whose husbands were absent).¹⁶⁰⁾ In 1880 the number of men absent had increased and the ratio of men to women among the communicants on the 25th January, was one to two. It is significant that most of the harvest workers had returned by this date.¹⁶¹⁾ In the later 1880ies, however, women began to leave the village in increasing numbers to seek work.¹⁶²⁾

When the Brethren arrived at Baviaanskloof in 1792 the Hottentots were essentially cattle herding nomads. The missionaries were of the opinion that they would have to be taught agriculture. This was probably a realistic policy as the Hottentots were increasingly losing land in which they could move around with their herds.

There were many difficulties in the way of teaching the Hottentots agriculture and a settled life. It was difficult to procure sufficient tools. These could only be had in Cape Town and there only at exorbitant prices. The missionaries lent out tools to the Hottentots. Some of these had been acquired from men like Martin Schmidt, their host in Cape Town, who presented them with 50 spades.¹⁶³⁾ However, by 1799 the Brethren had had some success. Peter Blessier reaped 25 bushels of wheat for every one he sowed. Most of the others reaped wheat twentyfold that year, and the harvest of maize and vegetables was plentiful. Imitating the missionaries they planted fruit trees and vegetables such as beans, carrots, and potatoes. The missionaries taught them to discard their aversion for pork. They were beginning to keep pigs by 1799 and these provided them with more fat and more meat than their sheep. In spite of this the missionaries complain that "A lazy heathen nation is not soon trained to industry." Yet they are pleased that only a few lived on 'veldkos' and that most have accepted the idea of earning something with the work of their hands.¹⁶⁴⁾ The Brethren

¹⁵⁹⁾ Henr. 3. 1889: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1888.

¹⁶⁰⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

¹⁶¹⁾ *ibid.*, 7. 1881: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1880.

¹⁶²⁾ *ibid.*, 3. 1889: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1888.

¹⁶³⁾ Exs. P. Acca. Journal Bk1f. Jul., 1799 - Jan., 1800.

¹⁶⁴⁾ *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. Jan. - Jun., 1799.

helped them in preparing the land when they could. The fruitful land which reverted to the mission in 1802 was ditched by the Hottentots themselves. The missionaries organised the communal work and provided the workers with food.¹⁶⁵⁾ The Hottentots then had sufficient land for gardens and fields for wheat or maize.¹⁶⁶⁾

Visitors to Baviaanskloof were unanimous in recording the success of the Brethren in teaching their charges the rudiments of agriculture. Lady Anne Barnard noticed that the small gardens of the Hottentots "were not very neat, but each one had something growing in it."¹⁶⁷⁾ Lichtenstein describes the agricultural system on the station as follows:

"Eine jede der Hottentotten Familien hat ausser dem Garten hinter dem Hause, in welchem sie zur Anpflanzung von Gemüse und Obstbäumen angewiesen werden, einen gewissen Antheil an den fruchtbaren Ländereien dieser Niederung, dessen Grösse sich nach der Anzahl Personen bestimmt die davon ernährt werden sollen. Eine jede muss diesen Acker nach Anweisung der Väter selbst bestellen und erhält Vorschub an Ackergeräth und Saatkorn. Der Fleissige wird durch einen Zuwachs seines Gebietes belohnt, dem Nachlässigen ein Theil davon wiederum entzogen."¹⁶⁸⁾

The way in which the missionaries inculcated industriousness was by rewarding the diligent with an increase in land and punishing the indolent by a diminution of their lots.¹⁶⁹⁾ This procedure was incorporated in the Rules and Regulations of the place¹⁷⁰⁾ and was still enforced in 1896.¹⁷¹⁾

Agriculture was practiced in two forms at Genadendal. There were the gardens in the valley of the Baviaanskloof river, and the wheat fields in the valley of the Sonderend River. If a garden was in good order the owner was reliable.¹⁷²⁾

¹⁶⁵⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Apr. - Jun., 1802.

¹⁶⁶⁾ *ibid.*, Reports on Baviaanskloof, Feb., 1803.

¹⁶⁷⁾ Lady Anne Barnard, p. 184.

¹⁶⁸⁾ H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 252; (Every Hottentot family has, besides the garden behind the house, in which they are instructed to plant vegetables and fruit-trees, a certain portion of the fertile arable land in this valley, the size of which is determined by the number of people who are to be fed from it. Every family must work this field under the instruction of the Fathers and receives assistance with implements and seedcorn. The diligent are rewarded with an increase of their land, while the indolent lose parts of it.)

¹⁶⁹⁾ CO 102, Answers to Queries, Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

¹⁷⁰⁾ See Appendix A, II, 4, 10.

¹⁷¹⁾ P. Accs. No. 27. 1896: A Moravian Settlement - E. Jacob.

¹⁷²⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 93.

According to Hallbeck people who lived on the produce of their gardens, fields and livestock had the best houses and were in the best circumstances.¹⁷³⁾ This was no longer the case towards the end of the period under discussion. But Buchner was of the opinion that the gardens could, if properly worked produce enough for the inhabitants to have food and to make them able to exchange the excess for other necessities of life.¹⁷⁴⁾

The main crops in the gardens were beans, and potatoes. In the beginning maize likewise was cultivated in the gardens.¹⁷⁵⁾ The orchards contained peach, pear, apricot and apple trees, as well as orange trees.¹⁷⁶⁾ In January the fruit harvest was usually in full swing and the inhabitants were busy drying their fruit on racks in front of their houses. The fruit crop was usually so abundant at harvest time that the inhabitants subsisted almost exclusively on it. Only the more well-to-do supplemented their diet with fish.¹⁷⁷⁾ The accounts give crop figures for two years, presumably average years.

	1864 - 1865	1874 ¹⁷⁸⁾
Beans:.....	167 Muids.	
or:.....	501 Bushels.	521 Bushels.
potatoes:.....	50 Muids.	
or:.....	150 Bushels.	300 Bushels.
dried fruit:...	260 Muids.	
or:...	780 Bushels.	19670 lbs.
tobacco:.....	170 lbs.	45 lbs.

To make the gardens sufficiently productive they had to be irrigated. As we have seen the missionaries irrigated their garden from the very beginning. The method was extended to the Hottentot gardens later on. In 1822 the diary remarks that by the distribution of water from the mill course the gardens had become very productive.¹⁷⁹⁾ When rust attacked the wheat in 1826 the irrigation system was improved by building three dams. The work on these dams was paid for by the Mission Directory.¹⁸⁰⁾ In 1834 a suggestion made by the missionaries to pay one shilling annually for the repair of the water furrows was accepted.¹⁸¹⁾ In 1861 a dam 20 feet long,

¹⁷³⁾ Select Committee Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

¹⁷⁴⁾ P. Accs. No. 13, 1893: Visitation of Br. Buchner, 1892-3.

¹⁷⁵⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 133.

¹⁷⁶⁾ P. Accs. CCXXIII, 1854: J.C. Breutel to Mission Board. (no date).

¹⁷⁷⁾ Mchr. 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

¹⁷⁸⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1866: Ber. G., 1865; *ibid.*, 3. 1875: Ber. G., 1874. 3 bushels = 1 muid; 1 bushel = 36.3 litres.

¹⁷⁹⁾ Miss. Reg. April 1823: Diary G., 1822.

¹⁸⁰⁾ Mchr. 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dec., 1826.

six feet high and four feet wide was erected for the purpose of irrigation.¹⁸²⁾ In the end the whole village was reticulated with irrigation furrows running to the gardens.¹⁸³⁾

If the gardens had in this manner been protected against droughts, it was much more difficult to protect them against rain and floods. In 1831 and 1839 for instance, floods damaged the gardens and destroyed part of the irrigation dams and furrows.¹⁸⁴⁾ Damage to the irrigation system was always repaired by collective labour.¹⁸⁵⁾ When the crops in the gardens and fields failed, Genadendal had an extremely difficult year. This happened in 1822 when the wheat crop failed and the gardens were inundated.¹⁸⁶⁾ In 1880 the drought even affected the gardens.¹⁸⁷⁾

The whole family was usually engaged in garden work.¹⁸⁸⁾ As in more primitive societies a system of work parties was used. Five or six garden owners would concentrate their efforts on one garden, the owner of that garden providing both food and wine on the days the party worked for him. Then it moved on to the next garden. No wages were paid, the system worked on a basis of reciprocity.¹⁸⁹⁾

In the 1820ies about 130 lots of arable land were allotted to inhabitants. Except in bad years over 100 were used each year. In 1820 it was felt that there was too little arable land available. Consequently one of the villagers rented a considerable piece of ground from a neighbouring farmer large enough for the sowing of 15 muids (sacks) of wheat.¹⁹¹⁾ The lack of arable land is illustrated by the fact that in 1864 only 127 persons worked arable land while 495 persons owned gardens.¹⁹²⁾

They learned ploughing from the Brethren. In July, 1820

181) Nchr. 6. 1836: Ber. G., 1834.

182) P. Accs. COLIII, 1861: F.W. Kuhn, G., 18th Jun., 1861.

183) Ibid., 4. 1890: Son of Dr. Drury, 29th May, 1890.

184) Nchr. 3. 1834: Ber. G., 1831; Ibid., 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839.

185) Ibid., 3. 1838: Ber. G., 1835; Ibid., 1. 1843: Ber. G., 1840.

186) P. Accs. Moravian Missions &c. Hallbeck, G., 26th Aug., 1822.

187) Nchr. 7. 1881: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1880.

188) CO 102 Answers to Queries, Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

189) Nchr. 11. 1877: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1876.

190) Ibid., 5. 1823: Ber. G., Okt., 1821 - Mai 1822.

191) Miss. Reg. Apr., 1821: Hallbeck, G., Jul., Aug., 1820.

192) Nchr. 6. 1866: Ber. G., 1865.

Hallbeck saw seventeen ploughs in action. Presumably the tenants of fields co-operated in ploughing.¹⁹³⁾ The ploughs manufactured in the smithy were suited to conditions at the Cape where an imported cast iron plough was difficult to repair.¹⁹⁴⁾ The missionaries also taught the use of manure. Gradually the Hottentots learned to put these lessons into practice.

"There is a want of manure, and therefore, the land must be left to rest after two or three years' culture. The Hottentots have, however, endeavoured to remedy the evil, by putting straw into the beast-kraal, and otherwise taking better care to collect manure, to which, in former times, they could never be brought to attend."¹⁹⁵⁾

By these methods the inhabitants were able to produce sufficient cereal crops. In 1824 a villager who had sown half a muid harvested 35 muids (sacks).¹⁹⁶⁾ In 1828 when the government provided seed corn because the crops had failed the previous year, the inhabitants gained 113 muid from 15 muid of seed corn.¹⁹⁷⁾ The detailed returns for the years 1864 and 1874 are given below.

	1864 - 1865	1874
Wheat:.....	339 muid (sacks)	
or:.....	1017 Bushels.	916 Bushels.
maize:.....	337 muid.	
or:.....	1011 Bushels.	838 Bushels.
Barley:.....	76 muid.	-
rye:.....	53 muid.	-
Oats:.....	3 muid.	-

1818 to 1828 was the most disastrous decade for agriculture at Genadendal. The harvest in 1818 had been bad, and the price of corn very high.¹⁹⁹⁾ The harvest was attacked by rust and although the losses were not in 1829 brought some relief.²⁰⁰⁾ The 1820 harvest at Genadendal was attacked by rust and although the losses were not as great as in other parts of the Colony, the price of corn affected the economy of Genadendal detrimentally.²⁰¹⁾ The missionaries had to

¹⁹³⁾ Miss. Reg. Apr., 1821: Hallbeck, G., Jul., 1820.

¹⁹⁴⁾ F. Acon. CXCVIII, 1848: E.R. Esling, G., 26th Oc., 1847.

¹⁹⁵⁾ Miss. Reg. Apr., 1821: Hallbeck, G., Sept., 1820.

¹⁹⁶⁾ Nchr. 1, 1826: Ber. G., 1824.

¹⁹⁷⁾ ibid., 1, 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

¹⁹⁸⁾ ibid., 6, 1866: ~~1865~~ Ber. G., 1865; ibid., 3, 1875: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1874.

¹⁹⁹⁾ ibid., 6, 1819: Ber. G., Jan. - Sept., 1818.

²⁰⁰⁾ Miss. Reg. Oct., 1820: Déary G., Jan. - Jul., 1819.

²⁰¹⁾ Nchr. 3, 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai, 1821.

provide corn at low prices for the 1821 ploughing season.²⁰²⁾ In that year the effect of both drought and rust on the wheat in the whole of the Colony was disastrous. The missionaries feared a famine for Genadendal.²⁰³⁾ There was such a lack of provisions in 1822 that the Brethren had to use money received from the Mission Board to feed the destitute. They provided three meals a week for a month with this money, but otherwise the Coloureds were forced to eat grass! The flooding of the gardens in that year brought greater misery.²⁰⁴⁾ The famine became so bad that the government had to remit the taxes and granted 4,000 lbs. of rice and 15 bushels of seed corn for relief.²⁰⁵⁾ This seed corn was sown communally because the individual share was too small to make sowing pay. The harvest in 1822 happened to be fairly good and the price of corn decreased considerably.²⁰⁶⁾ A large sum of money was received as relief from friends overseas, especially from England. This was used to rehabilitate Genadendal. A certain amount was allocated for the purchase of more seed corn to provide the owners of fields with seed corn free of charge on condition that they returned an equal amount in the following year. Another sum was diverted to the smithy to enable it to repair ploughs free of charge. Bullocks were purchased to make ploughing possible for people who had lost draught cattle during the droughts and the famine.²⁰⁷⁾ Unfortunately in 1823 the wheat harvest was almost completely destroyed by rust.²⁰⁸⁾ In 1825 and 1826 rust again destroyed most of their crops.²⁰⁹⁾ After 1826 there was an improvement. The inhabitants had learnt to rely more on their vegetable gardens which were safe from the rust. In 1839 the crops in the 'saailande' were destroyed by rust again.²¹⁰⁾ To-day most of the 'saailande' have fallen into

²⁰²⁾ Nchr. 1. 1823: Ber. G., Apr. - Sept., 1821.

²⁰³⁾ *ibid.*, 5. 1823: Ber. G., Okt., 1821 - Mai, 1822.

²⁰⁴⁾ P. Accs. Moravian Missions &c. Hallbeck, 26th August, 1822. The Missionaries let the receivers of charity do some small task as for instance improving the irrigation furrows etc. before they were fed.

²⁰⁵⁾ Nchr. 5. 1823: Ber. G., Okt., 1821 - Mai, 1822.

²⁰⁶⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

²⁰⁷⁾ P. Accs. Moravian Mission &c. Hallbeck, 29th April, 1824, Nchr. 1. 1825: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1823.

²⁰⁸⁾ Nchr. 1. 1825: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1823.

²⁰⁹⁾ P. Accs. CK, 1826: Hallbeck, G., 16th Nov., 1825; Nchr. 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

²¹⁰⁾ Nchr. 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839.

disuse.²¹¹⁾

Most of the land pertaining to the institution was in fact unsuitable for agriculture and could not be improved with the means the missionaries had at their disposal.²¹²⁾ The Hottentots who resorted to Genadendal brought their cattle and their sheep with them and the land soon became overstocked.²¹³⁾ The pasturage, remaining undivided, was used communally. The missionaries tried to get the stock owners to contribute towards the wages of a cattle-herd in order that the children would not be used for that purpose and consequently miss school. But it became difficult to collect the necessary money.²¹⁴⁾

In spite of the difficulty of keeping cattle in the Cape Colony especially at Genadendal, Genadendalers had a fairly large number of cattle. One of the reasons was that the Coloureds as a matter of prestige liked to own a span of oxen.²¹⁵⁾

	1843	1865	1874 ²¹⁶⁾
Cattle:.....	287	495*	400
Horses:.....	64	67	23
Cape Sheep:....	(50)	11	-
Merinos:.....	-	2758	2531
Pigs:.....	150	818	321
Goats:.....	550	554	440.

*of these 230 were oxen.

The figures reveal that merino sheep were successfully introduced at Genadendal in the second half of the century. Genadendal's only real money product was in fact wool and the production figures for 1864-5 and 1874 are as follows:

1864-5.....2937 lbs.²¹⁷⁾
1875.....6596 lbs.

There can hardly have been any wool production before the 1850ies.

Genadendal was not a favourable environment for cattle or horses. Their numbers were often depleted by droughts, floods and pests. In 1822 the stock owners lost or had to

²¹¹⁾ Information from Rev. L.R. Schmidt.

²¹²⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 119-20.

²¹³⁾ Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 329.

²¹⁴⁾ Nehr. 2. 1847: Ber. G., 1844.

²¹⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1849: Ber. G., 1843.

²¹⁶⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1849: Ber. G., 1843; *ibid.*, 6. 1866: Ber. G., 1865; *ibid.*, 3. 1875: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1875.

²¹⁷⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1866: Ber. G., 1865; *ibid.*, 3. 1875: Ber. G., 1874

²¹⁸⁾

slaughter 200 out of 400 of their cattle.²¹⁸⁾ In 1828 it was again necessary to slaughter the weak animals because of the drought,²¹⁹⁾ and the conditions in 1860 affected stock owners in a similar manner.²²⁰⁾

In 1839 an epidemic caused Genadendal to lose a large number of horses.²²¹⁾ In 1854 a lung disease destroyed many cattle. In the following year a similar disease killed between 60 and 80 horses.²²²⁾ In the year 1877 a cattle disease destroying cattle raged in Genadendal while it was suffering under the effects of a drought.²²³⁾

The description of the Genadendal agricultural system is sufficient proof that the village could never have subsisted from the produce of its fields, gardens and livestock alone. Therefore, although there^{was} some private enterprises in the settlement, the missionaries gave employment to some in the workshops. The missionary households provided a certain amount of opportunities for work. Some servants faithfully served in homes and in the communal kitchen for periods of 25 to 30 years.²²⁴⁾ The main source of employment provided by the mission, however, were the trades set up to make the station self-supporting. These have already been mentioned in connection with the mission economy. They also played a part in the economy of the community. The cutlery, for instance, commenced in 1797, employed four men in 1802-3.²²⁵⁾ In 1816 the combined smithy and cutlery had fourteen workers.²²⁶⁾ Some were engaged in vending the knives among the colonists.²²⁷⁾ The tannery was commenced with the special purpose of providing an occupation for some of the Coloured families in the village.²²⁸⁾

Besides aiming at earning a profit for the mission and giving employment to the residents, the industries had as their third aim the training of individual tradesmen, especially during Hallbeck's period. Hallbeck writes that cut-

218) Hchr. 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

219) *ibid.*, 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

220) *ibid.*, 1. 1862: Ber. G., 1860.

221) *ibid.*, 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839.

222) *ibid.*, 5. 1857: Ber. G., 1855.

223) *ibid.*, 10. 1878: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1877.

224) Select Committee, Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

225) H. Lichtenstein, I. p. 249.

226) C.I. Latrobe, p. 396-7.

227) Exs. P. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 6th Oct., 1834.

228) Hchr. 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

lers, smiths, joiners, wheelwrights and shoemakers were 'trained' at Genadendal and that other tradesmen such as masons, carpenters, thatchers, sawyers were encouraged.²²⁹⁾ He also considered the teaching of writing and arithmetic essential in the school 'particularly ... for those who carry on trades on their own accounts.'²³⁰⁾ The main reason for failing to establish an independent class of artisans at Genadendal was that their products found no market. Genadendal produced wagons but not in sufficient numbers to compete with financially stronger undertakings. The village furthermore did not have a large enough population to support a great number of independent tradesmen. The influx of mass produced European goods during the later part of the century destroyed the opportunities for such independent crafts as had previously existed. There had been a few tailors in Genadendal but with the introduction of sewing machines in the 1870ies the women commenced sewing their own clothes.²³¹⁾

From the very beginning there were signs of persons who tried to make money independently by producing articles for sale even though they were only mats and brooms.²³²⁾ Hallbeck referred to wheelwrights, smiths, carpenters, masons in 1819 but he added that labourers were more useful to the institution.²³³⁾ The death of the sole shoemaker for the whole village is mentioned in 1826.²³⁴⁾ Coloured masons and carpenters were employed in the building of the Blim church in 1835.²³⁵⁾ The number of artisans was at its highest in the thirties and forties. In 1836, Hallbeck stated before the Select Committee on Aborigines:-

"At the station where I live (Genadendal) one-half the population subsists by working at mechanical arts, cutlers, smiths, joiners, tanners, masons, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors and so on."²³⁶⁾

Probably many tradesmen also owned gardens and even left the village to work for farmers during the harvest season.

After the middle of the century the number of tradesmen dropped. Occasional references to craftsmen appear in the accounts e.g. to the joiner who replaced the brick

229) Papers Relative to Natives, 1835: Brief Sketch, 1823.

230) Exs. P. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 9th Aug., 1834.

231) Nehr. II. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

232) J. Barrow, I, p. 309-10.

233) CO 102 Answers to Queries - Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

234) Nehr. 2. 1828: Ber. G., Jan. - März, 1826.

235) P. Accs. CALIX, 1835: Hallbeck, G., Jul., 1835.

236) Select Committee, Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

pillars in the church with wooden posts,²³⁷⁾ to the wheelwright, who lost his tools and workshop in a fire in 1848,²³⁸⁾ and to the tailor and the joiner to whom pupils of the Training School were apprenticed in 1885.²³⁹⁾ An Irishman set up in Genadendal as a shoemaker and gave the pupils instruction until he died in 1853.²⁴⁰⁾ In 1856 farmers who were interrogated before a parliamentary committee accused the institution of not training artisans and asserted that there were only one or two smiths in the village.²⁴¹⁾ Actually it is surprising that ~~two~~ smiths could exist beside the smithy of the Brethren. The crafts did not disappear completely. In 1892, when the new church was being erected, carpenters from the village superintended the woodwork.²⁴²⁾

The position as far as shopkeepers in the village were concerned was slightly different. The missionaries did not encourage them especially after they had had an unpleasant experience with a certain Negrini who had been allowed to keep an inn at Genadendal in 1799.²⁴³⁾ They did not prohibit them, however. Both Europeans and Coloureds are known to have carried on business in the village. In 1856 there were four independent retail traders in the village.²⁴⁴⁾ One of these was Christian Heitz²⁴⁵⁾ who later added a wine selling business to his shop and caused much of the trouble during the 1858 elections by opening his house to the election agents.²⁴⁶⁾ He later added an inn in which Lady Duff Gordon lived when she visited Genadendal.²⁴⁷⁾ The missionaries would not have had any objection to sober traders conscious of their responsibility toward the community. They were against traders who exercised a bad moral influence. In 1857 a European shop-keeper from Caledon opened business, but he closed it down again when his clerk defrauded him of £90.²⁴⁸⁾

²³⁷⁾ P. Accs. CXCVI, 1847: G.L. Teutsch, 10th April, 1847.

²³⁸⁾ Nchr. 1. 1850: Ber. G., 1848.

²³⁹⁾ P. Accs. CXXXI, 1856: B. Marx, 26th Sept., 1855.

²⁴⁰⁾ Nchr. 1. 1855; Ber. G., Sept. - Dez., 1853.

²⁴¹⁾ C. of G. H. Interrogation of farmers of the Caledon dist.

²⁴²⁾ P. Accs. No. 14. 1893: A Red Letter Day for Genadendal.

²⁴³⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Jan., 1799; H.G. Schneider, G., p. 175-6.

²⁴⁴⁾ C. of G. H. G.R. Klibing to Select Committee, 15th Apr. 1856

²⁴⁵⁾ Nchr. 5. 1857: Ber. G., 1855.

²⁴⁶⁾ Ibid., 5. 1860; Ber. G., 1858.

²⁴⁷⁾ Lady Duff Gordon, p. 102.

²⁴⁸⁾ P. Accs. CCXXXVII, 1857: D.W. Suhl, G., 3rd Apr. 1857.

A few years later another European, who was living together with a Coloured girl opened a shop in the village and added a wine selling business. This again caused disturbances.²⁴⁹⁾ The missionaries therefore cannot be blamed for trying to protect their wards from such disorderly traders. As the missionaries ran their own shop and provided the Coloureds with wine, it was surmised that they were doing this purely for their own benefit. The attacks levelled against them on this score were found to be unjustified.

"...we found that the charges of making undue profit in the sale of goods, and of selling or distributing improper quantities of liquor, were disproved, and that the candid explanation afforded by the intelligent and active superintendent of the Moravian mission was amply confirmed."²⁵⁰⁾

Such communal work as had to be performed was usually done at the instigation and under the supervision of the missionaries. In 1796 Kühnel cut trees to bridge the rivulets. He easily gathered a number of Hottentots prepared to help without any remuneration.²⁵¹⁾ In September, 1801 after torrential rains Rose set about repairing the roads with the help of all the Hottentot men he could muster.²⁵²⁾ The payment of a shilling for the maintenance of the irrigation furrows decided upon in 1834, was suggested by the Brethren.²⁵³⁾ The collective work on the drainage and irrigation system, in fighting fires, in building churches and repairing property pertaining to the congregation has already been described. Perhaps we may explain the willingness of the Hottentots to work on communal enterprises as a relic of tribal organisation, the missionaries superseding the tribal authorities in the management of collective work.

The best example of such unpaid collective work was the erection of the bridge over the Sonderend River. This bridge was commenced, with the financial help of visitors from India,²⁵⁴⁾ in 1819. A foot bridge 14 feet above the summer level of the water was completed by the end of 1820. Thirty-six Hottentots under the supervision of Brother Beinbrecht broke and transported the necessary stones and worked on the bridge in an exemplary manner.²⁵⁵⁾ Part of the wooden super-

²⁴⁹⁾ Nehr. 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

²⁵⁰⁾ Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 330-1.

²⁵¹⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal, Bklf., Jan. - Spt., 1796.

²⁵²⁾ *ibid.*, Journal Bklf., 1801.

²⁵³⁾ Nehr. 6. 1836: Ber. G., 1834.

²⁵⁴⁾ *ibid.*, 3. 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai, 1821.

²⁵⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1822: Ber. G., Jan. - Sept. 1820.

structure was torn away in the heavy rains of 1821.²⁵⁶⁾ ~~the~~ As a result the piers were increased in height. The wagon bridge was finally finished in 1823. The work had been done exclusively by inhabitants of the village under the supervision of Beinbrecht. The money had been donated to the institution.²⁵⁷⁾ The maintenance of the bridge long remained the responsibility of the village and had to be undertaken as voluntary work of the villagers.²⁵⁸⁾ In 1861 the Divisional Council paid part of the cost of repair. In 1863 some farmers provided ox-wagons for the transport of earth. These contributions towards the upkeep of the bridge were not nearly sufficient.²⁵⁹⁾ By 1881 the Divisional Council had still not accepted full responsibility for the bridge, although it had always been responsible for the road leading over it.²⁶⁰⁾ The bridge thus became more of a liability than an asset to the community.

Another example of collective work was the planting of trees, commenced in 1818. The men were asked to volunteer and they responded splendidly. It was decided to sell the wood at a very low price to inhabitants who intended to build houses. The money obtained was to benefit the poor box.²⁶¹⁾ This plan was carried out in the year 1837.²⁶²⁾

The missionaries were in the main responsible for poor relief.²⁶³⁾ Two chapel-servants were made responsible for the poor box.²⁶⁴⁾ The inhabitants of the settlement appreciated their responsibility towards the poor. In 1866 some chapel-servants suggested the granting of maize and beans to the poor as the poor box was empty.²⁶⁵⁾ In bad harvest years, it was impossible for the congregation to support its own poor. In 1878 the missionaries complain that the mission has to care for the poor of the congregation al-

²⁵⁶⁾ Nchr. 3. 1823: Ber. G., Apr. - Spt., 1821.

²⁵⁷⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1825: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1823. The bridge was 227 feet long, and 19 feet above the summer level.

²⁵⁸⁾ Nchr. 2. 1844: Ber. G., 1841; *ibid.*, 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842; P. Accs. CCXXXIII, 1856: C.R. K&Sbing, G., 30th Jul., 1856

²⁵⁹⁾ Nchr. 11. & 12. 1864: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1863.

²⁶⁰⁾ *ibid.*, März, 1882: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1881.

²⁶¹⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1819: Ber. G., 1818.

²⁶²⁾ *ibid.*, 2. 1840: Ber. G., 1837.

²⁶³⁾ P. Accs. LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811.

²⁶⁴⁾ Appendix A, III, 12.

²⁶⁵⁾ Nchr., 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

though they are really not their responsibility.²⁶⁶⁾

In difficult years the missionaries also provided relief for the community. In 1822 they provided the hungry with meals. The Hottentots were taught to appreciate this by requiring them to improve the irrigation furrows and the burial ground before receiving these meals.²⁶⁷⁾ In 1866 the Moravian institution of a love festival was used to feed the children of Berea.²⁶⁸⁾

The missionaries interceded with the government when supplies ran low or taxes were too heavy. In 1822 after Hallbeck's representations the government granted rice and corn to the settlement.²⁶⁹⁾ In 1816 Latrobe obtained the remission of the poll-tax for the poor.²⁷⁰⁾ In 1866 intercession by the missionaries was no longer effective. They could not obtain a reduction of the road dues in that year.²⁷¹⁾

In Enon~~x~~ the missionaries controlled the farm labourers' wages and thus the whole economy of the community. This was not the case at Genadendal.²⁷²⁾ They were, however, prepared to sell buchu leaves collected by the inhabitants and which had to be sold in bulk.²⁷³⁾ In the difficult economic conditions of the late 1880ies, Brother A.G. Hettasch, tried to introduce new industries to open up new possibilities for earning money for the residents. An appeal was made to friends in Europe to donate £400 so that a castor oil industry and a silk industry could be started.²⁷⁴⁾ In 1886 6,000 castor oil seeds were planted and a plantation of ~~the~~ 12,000 mulberry trees was progressing satisfactorily. In April of the same year castor oil presses arrived.²⁷⁵⁾ To-day there are hardly any relics of these late attempts at making the community self-sufficient again.

²⁶⁶⁾ Nchr. 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878.

²⁶⁷⁾ P. Accs. Moravian Mission &c. Hallbeck, G., 26th Aug., and 17th Sept., 1822.

²⁶⁸⁾ Nchr. 3. 1868: Ber. Berea, Jun., 1865 - Dez., 1866.

²⁶⁹⁾ *ibid.*, 5. 1823: Ber. G., Okt., 1821 - Mai 1822.

²⁷⁰⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 385, 390.

²⁷¹⁾ Nchr. 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1886.

²⁷²⁾ Theal, Records, xciii, p. 14.

²⁷³⁾ Nchr. 1. 1826: Ber. G., 1824; *ibid.*, 1. 1843: Ber. G., 1840; *ibid.*, 1. 1849: Ber. G., 1845; *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

²⁷⁴⁾ P. Accs. No. 349, 1885: Genadendal and its Urgent Need of a New Branch of Industry - A.G. Hettasch.

²⁷⁵⁾ Nchr. 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1886.

It is obvious that Genadendal played a part in the economy of the Colony, although its importance decreased from 1840. Genadendal provided a reservoir of labour for the farms in the neighbourhood. The proximity of labour to these farms increased their value in comparison with similar tracts of land elsewhere. The advantage to the farmers was that although comparatively high wages had to be paid them during ploughing and harvest, it was not necessary to provide for their keep during the off season.²⁷⁶⁾ The Genadendalers provided their share of labour on the roads, railways and mines. Though their main export was labour they exported other products such as wool and buchu leaves and they were of course consumers of farm produce, especially during bad harvest years, and in increasing amounts, of trade commodities. The Coloureds did not prove without initiative. A resident earned his living outside Genadendal by cattle trading in 1833.²⁷⁷⁾ In 1849 a transport rider lost seven oxen.²⁷⁸⁾ Thus, if economic conditions seem to stagnate in the second half of the Nineteenth Century, the reason must not be sought in a falling off of missionary effort or in the listlessness of the Coloured residents. The tendency was the result of the general economic development of the country in that period.

²⁷⁶⁾ Papers Relative to Natives: Hallbeck to Commissioners, 12th May, 1825.

²⁷⁷⁾ Schr. 1. 1836: Ber. G., 1833.

²⁷⁸⁾ *ibid.*, 3. 1851: Ber. G., 1849.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY GENADENDAL UNDER
THE INFLUENCE OF THE MISSIONARIES OF THE
UNITAS FRATRUM
1792 — 1892

Thesis presented
for the degree of
Master of Arts.

Department of History

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I n t r o d u c t i o n

Object of this thesis has been to underline a small facet of the influence of the Missionaries on the Coloured people at the Cape in the nineteenth century; to describe the impact of Christianity on Single social unit, which was a fusion of primitive Hottentot and slave elements, subject to strung Euro-pean (white) pressure, both economic and otherwise.

What was intended as a modest exploitation of the information available has resulted in a perhaps too lengthy treatise. But it is felt that the period of a century covered, warrants as full a discussion as possible.

it is hoped that this thesis has succeeded not merely in telling the story of the missionat Genadendal, but has emphasised the significant interplay of religious, economic and social contacts, ideas and problems in the development of Coloured society at the station. For Genadendal is an example of the growth of a Christian Mission in a colony of settlement.

the sources on which the thesis is based are in the main the periodical publications of the Unitas Fratrum. the English accounts are valuable for letters and contemporary articles by the missionaries, while those in the German language contain an almost complete set of annual reports from the Brethren on the stations. the valuable diaries, extant on the majority of the Moravian mission stations all over the world, as well as the correspondence at Genadendal had to be ignored for the purpose of this thesis because of their length. .his material, kept at Genadendal, is invaluable for the history of the missions in South Africa. It should be housed in a place where it will not be lout to posterity.

I am sincerely indebted to Rev. L.A. Schmidt, Rev. P.4. Schaberg, Mr. and Mrs. E. Weder and Berw. D. Wessels whose 'encouragement and assitance were invaluable to me in finding and selecting the material on which the thesis is based.

Abbreviations.

tier.	= Bericht.
Bklf.	= Baviaanskloof.
BO	= Miscellaneous Documents 1795 - 1803.
Br.	= Brother, Bruder.
C. of G. U.	= Cape of Good Hope Votes and Proceedings of parliament, 1856.
CO	= Colonial Office Records.
Exs. P. Accs.	= Extracts periodical Accounts of the Missions of the United Brethren, 1790 – 1834.
G.	= Genadendal, Gnadenthal.
Miss. Reg.	= Missionary Register 1819 – 1823.
.	m Nchr Rrichten aus der Brüdergemeine.
P. Aces.	= periodical Accounts of the Missions of the United Brethren.
V. Accs. or. Miss.	= Moravian Missions &c.
Vol.	= Volume.

I.

The Origins and Thought of the Unitas Fratrum.'

The Church that was to send the first protestant missionary, Georg Schmidt, to South Africa, was the Church

of the United Brethren.¹) This Church had its origins in the work of the great reformer Johann Huss. In 1451 a number of Brethren and Sinters formed the 'Unitas Prati' at Künnewalde in Bohemia. It had a membership of 200,000 in 1531 but it was broken up during the Thirty Years War.²)

The remnants of this Church,³) and other German pietistic elements settled on the lands of Count Zinzendorf, at Herrnhut in Saxony. Here, on the 13th. August, 1727, they founded the renewed Church of the United Brethren. This community was imbued with the missionary spirit. The Moravian refugees, who had left their country because of their religious convictions, were in particular the carriers of this spirit. Count Zinzendorf, their patron, shared their fervour. With his sincere and pious belief in the Saviour, his zeal for the work of God, his community spirit and his talent for organisation, Zinzendorf was precisely the man to foster the potential powers of the Herrnhuters.⁴) Zinzendorf's aim in his own words was: "Die Bekehrung der Heiden, und zwar nur solcher, an die sich sonst niemand machen würde."⁵) On the 21st August, 1752, the first two missionaries were sent out from Herrnhut to the Danish colony of St. Thomas in the West Indies.⁶)

To understand the spirit of these missionaries, one must be familiar with the spiritual atmosphere at Herrnhut. The community at Herrnhut was a product of Pietism,⁷) and contained a number of different elements.

"On the one hand, it consisted of the Lutheran inwardness of Count Zinzendorf, a man of great personal charm and attractiveness, ...his aim was to unite the true lovers of Christ in small groups,

1) Georg Schmidt, *Die Opvolgers* p. 2. R

2)

L. i. Schmidt, *Lie Broederkerk en die Broederkerk in Genadendal*. 1940. p. 3.

ibid., p. 4.

4) Ad. Schulze, *Abriss einer Geschichte der Brüdermission. Herrnhut*. 1901. p. 2-4.

5) '1)⁴

ibid., p. 3. (The conversion of heathen, and only those to whom no one else would go.)

6) *ibid.*, p. 5.

7) E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*. Vol. ii. London. 1931. p. 19.

rather after the earlier ideal of 'Luther and Spener's system of 'conventicles'. he never dreamed of the impossibility of uniting these supra-ecclesiastical groups with Lutheranism. On the other hand, the Herrnhut Community contained the sectarian impulse of the Moravian Brethren, who, having incidentally settled upon the Count's estate, became to him a 'chariot and warhorse for gaining the victory; in the process, however, his conventicle idea developed into that of a sect, organised on an exclusive basis, founded upon the voluntary principle, and upon Maturity in Christian experience, exercising powers of discipline and excommunication - a

body in which lay men exercised a spiritual ministry.^{.8 4)}

These

two conflicting tendencies fused, and because the Lutheran Church did not accept the 'conventicle' idea of the Count, a new Church was born of this fusion.

"...its chief aim was to attain the highest possible degree of inward piety and Christ-mysticism, by means of worship, organization, and education.")

Troeltsch describes the qualities of the Church of the United Brethren in the following words:

'The body- of the communicants was to be as pure as possible; and discipline was directed to this end. The small size of the community, its system of mutual control, its independence of the State, its legal character as an 'association' (rein), its various undertakings which arose in order to secure its existence, its urgent desire to win souls freely to Christ through missions to the heathen, above all the endeavour after an active purity of the Christian ethic which was to distinguish its members from the 'children of this world': all this gave the Church of the Brethren - partly with and partly

10. against

its will - a certain likeness to the sects..")

The ethic of the Moravians originated in the Lutheran tradition by Zinzendorf was tolerant, but through Calvinistic accretions it was also related to Puritanism.¹⁾

One of the most important elements in the teaching of the United Brethren was their mysticism.

"The Count himself was its not outstanding representative - indeed, it was Zinzendorf who expressed this type of piety in a form which was intimate and spiritual,....Zinzendorf no longer regarded Pietism as an attempt to reform the church; to him it was a voluntary association of individuals who are united with the Saviour who is spiritually present and who can be found in the word,... He transformed Spener's conventicle ideal into a form of free Christian social life, through which he and the brethren, in this community guided by providence, have been

¹⁾) ibid., p. 719-20. See Ad. Schulze, Abriss, p. 2-3 for a description of the Senfkorn-Orden.

9) ibid., p. 72j.

10) ibid., p.

11) *ibid.*, p. 720.

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granted a special relationship with the person of the Saviour.this Pietist Christ- Mysticism, and especially that of the Zinzendorf variety, always regarded itself as an entirely personal and private relation with the living Saviour."

This element in a sense contradicted the sectarian organization forced on Zinzendorf by the Moravian emigrants.¹²⁾

The personal piety evident in the writings of Schleiermacher, (Lutheran) and even Goethe, was of importance outside the Church. It is manifested in the practice of making and reading reports on the inner life of individuals.' In their missionary accounts this trait in their ideology is one of the most noticeable. Their influence on the rest of Protestant Christianity is greater than is generally realised. Their famous book of Biblical 'watchwords'¹⁴⁾ is printed in twenty-six different languages and 300,000 copies are sold annually. The membership of the Church is only 210,926.¹⁵⁾

The United Brethren have similarities with other 'sects' that originated in this period; such as the Quakers and the Baptists.)

In other directions.... however, the relation between Moravian mysticism and ecclesiasticism is most obscure. Zinzendorf always considered himself in agreement with Lutheran theology. In reality, however, he only agreed with certain sections of Lutheran doctrine. With the ecclesiastical and sociological of Lutheranism he certainly did not agree' ¹⁶⁾

Actually there were closer affinities to the Calvinists than to the Lutherans.¹⁸⁾ 'This is one of the reasons why they found favour with the Calvinist colonists at the Cape.

Their sectarian ideals led, them to their belief in the 'dignity of work. ⁹⁾

the economic results,...soon appeared in the shape of an excellent and increasingly successful business life, characterized by integrity and frugality."

As the communities had to meet their own expenses and consisted mainly of poor people, this element was strengthened. By these methods they also paid for most of their missionary work.)

12. Broeltsch, p. 788-90.

13,) ibid., p. 790.

14) A calendar, in which every day of the year is placed under a Biblical text.

15) L.R Schmidt, Die Broedkerk, p. 4, 6.

16) E. Broeltsch, p. 719-20.

17) ibid., p. 789.

The missionaries, who came out to the cape in 1792 were, therefore, of the artisan class and aimed at creating a self-sufficient community at Genadendal.²¹) The Moravian communities did not provide all the lands for the missionary work. Throughout the Nineteenth Century this 'small but energetic Church' had many outside sympathisers. Financial aid came from many quarters and societies of friends of the Moravian Missions were formed in a number of European countries and America. In 1817 the London Association in aid of Moravian Missions was formed which contributed substantially to the funds of the mission until the end of the Nineteenth Century.²²) Besides, the missionaries at Genadendal report the arrival of aid in kind from sympathisers in England and the Continent.²³)

Earl Russell is reported to have said that the constitution of the church was the most skilfully and wisely balanced of any with which he was acquainted.²⁴) It combines both democratic and aristocratic elements. It is ruled by bishops, appointed by the supreme legislative body, or, when that is not in session, by the supreme executive body.²⁵) The legislative body, consisting of the General synod of the Church, has supreme authority. This body is convoked infrequently. When it is not in session a Directory acts with full powers. A special commission is appointed jointly with the Directory to deal with the affairs of the missionary work. To-day the various national branches of the Church care for certain mission fields, although there is mutual help when necessity arises.²⁶)

The Moravians have always been very careful in the selection of their missionaries. Besides, the number of missionaries in proportion to the total membership of the Church is very low. In 1903 Stewart estimated it to be one missionary for every sixty communicants, whereas other Christian Churches average one missionary for every 3,703

18) Troeltsch, p. 720.

19) J.7. Marais, *The Cape Coloured People*, Longmans. p. 143.

20) s. Troeltsch, p. 720-1.

21) J.S. Marais, p. 143. J. Stewart, *Dawn in the Dark Continent*. London. 1903. p. 91.

22) J. Stewart, pp. 90-91.

23) Periodical Accounts of the Missions of the United Brethren and *Nachrichten aus der Krüdergemeine*; passim.

24) J. Cartwright, p. 92-3.

25) *ibid.*, p. 93.

26) L.R. Schmidt, *Die Broederkerk*, p. 1.

communicants. They never seem to have lacked zealous missionaries prepared to preach the Gospel in the most forbidding regions. The list of applicants is scrutinised by the missionary department; the applicants are free to "accept or decline" the appointment, and they may choose the field they prefer.²⁷⁾

The missionaries of the United Brethren did not receive any special training until well into the second half of the Nineteenth Century. The emphasis was laid on the willingness of the applicants to serve as missionaries. As a result few really learned men went out into the field. After often they did not learn the language of the people they were preaching to.)

The infractions given to the missionaries were alas in saner terms and were meant to be corrected and supplement by actual experience in the field. Only in 1636 were more precise instructions worked out with particular reference to the different fields. The missionaries were instructed to do whatever they did "in the name of God". They were not to be held up to the halo congregations as martyrs. They were to work together in a spirit of brotherly love. Special care was to be exercised in the making of converts and in giving them positions of responsibility. The bringing of converts to Europe was in the beginning strongly disapproved of.²⁹⁾

Their attitude towards the heathens was such that they did not try to eradicate all non-Christian customs. They allowed such customs as did not directly interfere with Christian principles to be continued. They were for instance, prepared to baptize a polygamist and allow him to keep more than one wife but they did not allow polygamy among their ordinary converts. Baptized polygamists, however, were debarred from posts of responsibility in the congregation. The baptizing of polyandrists on the other hand was prohibited.")

They found by experience that the best method of influencing the minds of the reaction was to preach to them simply on the suffering and death of Christ for the sins of mankind. They found that this approach had far greater

²⁷⁾ J. Stewart., pp. 88-9. Until 1818 the final decision was often left to the drawing of the lot. Ad. Schulze Abriss, pp. 49-50, 133-5.

²⁶⁾ Ad. Schulze, Abriss, pp. 46-7, 136-8, 257-65.

²⁹⁾ Ibid., pp. 47-9, 135-6, 249-50. J. Stewart, p. 38-9.

³⁰⁾ Ad. Schulze, Abriss, pp. 56-70, 151-5, 262-7.

J!.

effect than teaching about God. All the heathen seemed to have some notion about God, but they knew nothing of a merciful God and this appealed to them. After 18;4 this method of approach of the heathen was followed universally by the Brethren)

Zinzendorf's early aim as the gaining of a few select converts for the Lord and creating a Christian elite among the heathens. this early aim of the Brethren was modified, o. Leg to the fact that They made more converts than expected. the idea that communities on the lines of the original community at Herrnhut should also be formed among the heathens was introduced. in 1869 the idea of independent churches developing,; out of these communities was formulated by the General Synod. 32)

Artisans and traders have always accompanied the actual missionaries. In the beginning most of the missionaries were artisans and traders. Although the proportion of learned men to the traders and artisans has increased, the practice of sending out lay brethren as raters and artisans has not ceased. At first the line between lay brethren and ministers was not drawn very clearly. the lay brethren took part in the actual preaching of the Gospel and care of the congregation whilst earning an income for the mission station. the tendency been to draw this distinction more clearly. a missionary in the service of the society was allowed to work for private profit or own private property. 33)

the Sister, who went out as *the* wives of the

directly concerned in the mission work. They had thus to be carefully selected as well. A single missionary always had a wife selected for him by the mission directory at home.)

in their relations with the colonial governments the Brethren followed the principle enunciated in the Bible: let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. (Romans, 13. v. 1.) They did not attempt to influence the policy of the government directly, but indirectly they hoped that their influence would ameliorate the native policy and of the colonial governments and that government would learn

1) Ad. Schulze, *Abriss*, p. 60; J. Stewart, p. 89.

³²) *ibid.* Schulze, *Abriss*, pp. 56-70, 151-5, 252-7.

³³) 1.4.3, do 267; J. Stewart, p. 261.

³⁴) Ad. Schulze, p. 56.

to appreciate Christianisation.³⁵⁾ This quietist attitude was probably a result of the fact that, unlike the English missionaries, most Moravians originally came from absolutist states of central Europe.³⁶⁾

In their dealings with other denominations Zinzendorf instructed the missionaries to let their converts know as little as possible about the divisions of Christianity and to be impartial when their converts did notice these divisions. In the beginning governments and other Churches showed marked opposition, but as they learned more about the United Brethren this attitude changed. During the nineteenth Century they were on friendly terms with missionaries of other denominations, and colonial governments in many cases favoured them.³⁸⁾ With regard to the European colonists a similar development took place, more gradual and less comprehensive.³⁹⁾

There were always close contacts between the missionaries and the congregations at home. Frequent visitations of the mission fields by important men of the General Synod were undertaken. In the regular reports the missionaries sent home and their wide circulation made the congregations aware of the developments in the missionary fields. Books were written about the work in foreign fields and some of Zinzendorf's hymns deal with the missionary effort.⁴¹⁾

The missionaries of the United Brethren, were interested in the genuine conversion of the individual rather than in mass conversions; they were practical, persevering and zealous. One of the most important reasons for these laudable qualities was their fervent religious conviction:

...they have some secret of religious life ... some ideal in their Christianity towards which they work without saying touch about it.")

unless the full significance of this factor is realised, it will be difficult to understand the self-denying work of the Moravians in South Africa.

³⁵⁾ Ad. Schulze; Abriss, pp. 66f., 157f.

) J. S. Marais, pp. 141-3.

³⁷⁾ Ad. Schulze, Abriss, pp. 37., 155f.

³³⁾ *ibid.*, pp. 15-7.

³⁹⁾ *ibid.*, p. 157f.

ibid., pp. 49, 135, 253f.

Al) *ibid.*, pp. 141-9, 52-7, 25b-262.

⁴²⁾ J. Stewart, pp. 66-6.

II

Georg Schmidt, 1737-1744.

Ziegenbalg and Böving, two German missionaries on their way to India, tried to arouse European Christendom to the degraded condition of the Hottentots without much success. Eventually two Dutch clerics, van Alphen and de Bruyn, asked Zinzendorf and the Herrnhuters to send a missionary to the Cape.¹)

The man selected for this task, Georg Schmidt, was born in 1709, the son of Moravian peasants. Hearing of the United Brethren, he journeyed to Herrnhut. Here he came to be "recognised as a young man of exceptional piety and devotion.") he was sent to Bohemia where he suffered six years imprisonment for the sake of his religious convictions. Zinzendorf chose him as the first missionary to the Cape.)

Immediately after the request for a missionary at the Cape had arrived in Herrnhut, Schmidt proceeded to Holland Where he arrived in March, 1735. he at once began to learn Dutch. Zinzendorf's friends procured the necessary permission from the council of Seventeen. The Council insisted on a religious examination of the prospective missionary during which Schmidt "made a favourable impression upon the divines"⁴) When he had satisfied the clerical commission as

to his faith and character, the Court of Directors gave their approval, granted him a free passage to the Cape and provided him with an introductory letter to Governor de la Fontaine who was Instructed to "grant him every help and assistance in this good purpose."⁵)

On the 9th July, 1737, Schmidt's ship 't Huis te burg arrived in Table Bay. he immediately went to call on the new Governor Kervel. The Secunde, captain RhGenius, a born Berliner,⁶) invited him to stay at his home.⁷) The inhabitants of Cape Town were not over optimistic as to his

1) 1. Schmidt-Pretoria, Der Kulturanteil des Deutschvolkes am Aufbau des Burenvolkes. 1936. p. 247; J.T. Hamilton, A History of the Missions of the Moravian church. 1901. p. 14. Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 4-6.

2) J. du Plessis, A History of Christian mission in South Africa. 1911. Chapter, vii.

3) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, pp. 3-4; J. Schmidt-Pretoria, p. 110-111; H.G. Schneider, Gnadenhal, die erste evangelische Missionsstation in Afrika. Herrnhut. 1892. p. 13.

4) J. du Plessis, A History, Chapter vii.

⁵) ibid., Chapter vii.

Noritz, Die Deutschen am Kap, 1552-1606. Weimar. 1936. p. 303-4.

success in converting the Hottentots.⁸) -Le Council of Policy likewise doubted that he would be successful. His arrival is recorded in the minutes of this body in the following way:

"And.., by the vessel 't Luis te Rensburg" there has come to land here a certain person named Georg Schmidt, with the purpose - if that be possible - of converting *tae* Hottentots from Heathendom to Christianity, all possible assistance shall be rendered to the aforesaid person for the prosecution of that pious work and the attainment of its good object.")

Schmidt was detained in Cape Town for a considerable period. During this time he made the acquaintance¹⁰ of the clerics in Cape Town and of the sincere Christians.¹⁰) The Dutch pastors, Le Sueur and. *Kok*, raised objection to *his* performing the sacrament of baptism, but *whether* they informed him that pastors of the Dutch reformed Church had the sole right to baptise is hard to say.¹¹)

In the beginning of September, as opportunity for his journey into the interior presented itself. Rampen, a corporal in charge of the Company's post at Zoetenelksvallei¹², was returning to duty.¹²) The Governor supplied Schmidt with provisions and instructed him to give him every assistance.¹³) Two Hottentots, Africo and Kibbodo (Kibido) travelled with them. The party arrived at the Company's post, on the 13th September, 1737.¹⁴) Schmidt first settled at hartebeestkraal near the Company's post at Zoetemelkevallei. He immediately began building a house. Some of the soldiers and the Hottentots helped him; the latter realised that he had not come to take away their cattle or their land. The house was soon completed, but Schmidt was to stay in it for only seven months. A number of Hottentots lived near the house, among them Africo.

Schmidt soon started the work of preaching the Gospel

⁷Extracts from Periodical Accounts of the Mission of the United Brethren, 1793-1834. Account of Voyage to and abode at the Cape by Georg Schmidt himself.

⁸Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 2; J. du Plessis, A History, Ch. vii.

) J. du Plessis, A History, Ch. vii.

) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 3; H.G. Schneider, G. p. 13.

11) J. du Plessis, Ch. vii.

12) H.G. Schneider, G. p. 14.

13) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 8.

14) Exs. ... Aces. Account by Georg Schmidt.

to them. He also attempted to teach them agriculture so as to make thee live a settled life which would favour his work.¹⁵) his description of the Hottentots is not very favourable.

'The Hottentots are of a phlegmatic disposition, and sleep much in the day time. in a moonlight night thee amuse themselves with dancing, caper-cutting, and singing, and at the same watch over their flocks. (These flocks were often attacked by lions and leopards.) Their clothing consists chiefly of two sheep-skins sewed together and cut into 6=9 shape. These are kept greased and tied around their waist; but the common story of their wearing cheeps entrails round their arms and bodies is without foundation.

Indeed the women often wear thongs cut of bull's hide round their legs, but never entrails. Their riches consist in oxen, cows and sheep and their chief food is milk and boiled meat. instead of bread they eat wild roots, which they also now and then boil. They neither plant nor cultivate the ground, but rove with their cattle from place to place, whenever they can find the greatest quantity of provender. There they set up five or six tents under the control of a captain. They have neither divine worship or any ceremonies, and seem to believe nothing but that there is a great Lord of all, whom they call Iuileha, and a devil called G b a 'a e a, of whom however, they do not appear afraid."")

that the Hottentots near the post still lived in a nomadic state and that they still owned cattle and sheep.

His method of teaching these primitive people the Gospel would not have found the approval of modern missionaries, but the Hottentots listened to him perhaps because this was the first European who came to help them. He visited them at their fires, distributed tobacco among them and talked to them. Later he tried to learn the Hottentots language. This he found impossible on account of the numerous clicks. He therefore decided to teach them Dutch so that they could understand him. In October, 1737 he started a school for this purpose. He prayed with his pupils before and after the lesson and on Sundays he read them the Bible and spoke to them of the Saviour.¹⁷)

The proximity of the Company's post soon proved to be a drawback on account of the soldiery posted there. In February, 1738 he was 'given to understand' that he was too near the post.¹⁶) This means that having drawn lots he saw that

¹⁵) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 8.

¹⁶) Exs. Accs. Account by G. Schmidt.

¹⁷) Exs. J. du Plessis, eh. vii; Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 6.

¹⁸) . Accs. Account by G. Schmidt.

God wanted him to leave and showed him where to go. He moved to the opening of the Baviaanskloof where Genadendal now stands. Eighteen Hottentots, who had taken a deeper interest in his teaching, accompanied him. The acting Governor Swellensrebel, approved of this and allowed Schmidt the use of the land. Schmidt's friend and patron, Rhenius, instructed the corporal to assist him again in building.)

A beginning was made in what Schmidt called a 'desert place', on the 3rd April, 1753. Soon the missionary resumed his activities, apparently without much success. Willem, one of the Hottentots, alone was genuinely affected and pleaded with his people in the Hottentots language. Besides Willem, Kibbodo and Africo, seemed to be more interested than the rest.²⁰) The Sunday services were attended by between 35-50 natives.

In November, 1740, Schmidt wrote to Herrnhut about his success and his problems. The people who come to the meetings morning and evening tended their cattle and worked during the day. The school he had established did not last long as "these people do not love perseverance," and the task of teaching them "Low Dutch" was well nigh impossible. Yet he taught them to say a prayer before the meetings. His congregation consisted of 10 men, 10 women, 7 boys, and 5 girls, who were divided into classes. Fifteen could read the New Testament. He reminded the Brethren that he was alone and urgently needed an assistant.²¹) He had to contend with three major problems. First, there was the language barrier. Secondly there was the fact that the Hottentots including members of his congregation were prone to drunkenness.²²) even Africo and Kibbodo fell victims to this vice.²³)

Thirdly, the Hottentots were still nomads and trekked around with their cattle.²⁴) Once, when his wards had let their cattle stray onto the sown lands and had not remedied the matter when asked to do so, he discontinued conducting services and the school as a punishment.²⁵)

The attitude of the colonists towards Schmidt's work is

¹⁹) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 8-9.

²⁰) Exs. P. Aces. Account by G. Schmidt.

²¹) Exs. I. Aces. G. Schmidt, 18th Nov., 1740.

²²) H.G. Schneider, o., p. 15.

²³) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 10.

²⁴) H.G. Schneider, p. 15.

²⁵) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 10.

difficult to ascertain. probably most colonists were indifferent towards this remarkable man. His work did not affect their labour supply as that of later missionaries did. live dutch people visited him in November, 1738 and gave a favourable account of him in Cape Town.²⁶) Georg Schmidt did not confine his work to the Lottentots, but also preached the Gospel to the colonists. Besides Kampen he also converted the worthy corporal's successor, Martinsen,²⁷) and maintained contact with religious people at cape Town.²⁶)

in 1738 Kulenkamp's^s famous pastoral Letter arrived which branded the Herrnhutters and Zinzendorf as heretics. it had a detrimental effect on all the missions of the United Brethren in Dutch colonies. Zinzendorf immediately replied. Nitschmann and tiler, two missionaries of the United Brethren on their way to ceylon in 1739 carried a letter containing the count's refutation of Kulenkamp's charges. Pa it was signed by the members of the Glassis of Amsterdam, it eased Schmidt's position for some time.)

Schmidt had fairly close contact with the community in herrnhut. Zinzendorf wrote to him reminding *hint* of the importance the Brethren attached to the death of Christ.³⁰) The visits of Nitschmann and Eller, who were at the Cape on their voyage to and from Ceylon strengthened the lone worker in his purpose.³¹) the community at herrnhut twice unsuccessfully attempted to send him an assistant.³²) Zinzendorf then sent him a regular letter of ordination empowering him to baptize. Schmidt as overjoyed when he collected the letter at Cape Town in March, 1742. Ultimately this new power conferred upon him was to prove his undoing.)

the return journey to Baviaanskloof, schmidt baptized Willem in a rivulet, "in the name of the Son who has died for us and in the Name of the Father and in the lane of the Holy Ghost." He gave Willem the name of Joshua. later at Baviaanskloof he baptized four other members of his congregation whom he considered worthy of this important step.

²⁶) Exs. 2. Aces. Account by G. Schmidt.

²⁷) H.G.. Schniëder, G., p. 15.

²⁸) Schmidt en sy Opvelgern, p. 11.

²⁹) du Plessis, A history, Oh. vii.

³⁰) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 13.

³¹) Exs. r. Aces. Account by Schmidt.

³²) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 14.

³ Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 14-15; Exs. 2. Aces. Account by G. Schmidt.

Later they slipped back into their old ways and returned to the kraals and absented themselves from the meetings.)

At Cape Town the baptism astonished the populace and aroused the Dutch R

own sent for Joshua and Christian (Africo) and examined Lem. They were surprised at their knowledge and sent them back exhorting them to remain in obedience to their teacher and to what he had taught. ³⁵⁾ They also summoned Georg Schmidt himself to the Cape and he was interrogated by the clergyman and the Council of ranees. He remained firm about **his right to baptize.** the Council warned him that he could no longer baptize until the authorities in Holland had given a decision. ³⁶⁾

three Dutch ministers at the Cape assembled in Cape Town and wrote to the classis of Amsterdam, to which the Dutch Reformed Church at the Cape was affiliated. they formed the Classis that Governor Swellengrebel had prohibited Schmidt from carrying out any further baptisms. they maintained that Georg Schmidt was not entitled to teach as he did not conform to the rules of the National Christian synod, nor had he been examined by this body. They pointed out that he taught the faith of the Herrnhut sect. His authority to baptize had been conferred illegally by a written Bull or Act of Count Zinzerlör and not by the Classis.

Hottentots had been baptized irregularly, not before a full congregation. the baptized Hottentots were not fully versed in the principles of Christianity and, as Schmidt had not been ordained by the laying on of hands, they could not partake of the Holy Communion immediately after their baptism as required by the Dutch Reformed Church. They requested the Classis to send out **Krankenbezoekers** or schoolmeesters to look after the interests of the Hottentots in the place of Schmidt. ³⁷⁾

The answer of the Classis intimated that the Synods of North and South Holland had pronounced the baptisms of the Herrnhutters out of order. They promised to send out suitable men "to instruct the unfortunate Hottentots and others

³⁴⁾ Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 15-16.

³⁵⁾ z. Aces. Account by G.

³⁶⁾ Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 17-18.

³⁷⁾ C. Spoelstra, Bouwetoefening voor de Geschiedenis der Nederduitsch-Gereformeerde Kerk in Zuid-Afrika. 1906. deel I. p. 195f.

beyond the mountain (Over Berg"³⁸) In the middle of the Eighteenth Century the principle of cuius r e g i o, **illius** r e l i g i o was as yet too strong for the Classis to allow a missionary of a denomination not their own to preach at the Cape. besides, the Company feared that a non-reformed church in the Colony would cause dissension.

without waiting for the answer of the Classis, Schmidt informed the Brethren that his position at the Cape was untenable and the best course of action would be for him to return to procure more favourable conditions from the authorities in Holland.³⁹) In August, 1743, he received letters from Herrnhut advising him to return. Entrusting his garden to Christian, Schmidt took leave of his small congregation on the 30th October, 1743.

he was granted a free passage to Holland by the Council of Policy. Swellengrebel, Rhenius and others gave him testimonials of good conduct. the Governor promised to protect the Hottentot community at Baviaanskloof. Schmidt left Table Bay on the 4th November⁴⁰ 1744 and arrived in Texel three months later.)

The congregation left at Baviaanskloof consisted of eleven married couples, eight single men, nine boys and eight girls. his small community of forty-seven Hottentots apparently held together for the first few years.⁴¹)

Schmidt's and Zinzendorf's subsequent efforts to obtain the permission of the Council of Seventeen for Schmidt's return were unavailing for two reasons: the denominational jealousy⁴² and deference to 'public opinion' in the Colony.)

Martin Schwabler, a former servant of the Company at the Cape, decided to continue the work. he was one of Georg Schmidt's European converts. Schwabler left Europe in 1748, ostensibly to seek re-appointment with the Company, but in reality to proceed to Baviaanskloof.⁴³)

he reported that the community at Baviaanskloof longed for their old teacher.) Schwabler did not leave any traces

Schmidt Spoelstra, Bouwstoffen, Deel II. p. 41J.

39) en sy Opvolgers, p. 18.

41) J. Du Plessis, Ch. vii; Exs. re, Aces. Account by G. Schmidt
42) Zxs. .0. Aces. account by G. Schmidt.

43) Schneider, G., p. 23.

44) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 19; A.G. Schneider, U., p. 32f.

44) ibid., p. 19; ibid., p. 33.

on the life of the community* tie died during an epidemic in 1756. This was reported by Wynstrauch, another of Schmidt's converts. he also reported that the congregation held together till Joshua (Willem) and Christian (Africo) died in 1755 or 1756, but in 1758 Baviaanekloof was deserted. In 1760 some Indian missionaries of the United Brethren were assured in Cape Town that the Hotetentots had not forgotten Schmidt and that some of the baptized were still alive.⁴⁵) Schmidt, back in Germany married and continued in the service of the Church of the United Brethren, he died on the 1st, August, 1785, in the hour that he had, set aside to pray.⁴⁶

United Brethren did not forget its South African station. In 1789, the Synod of the United Brethren decided to renew its work at the Cape.⁴⁷) the attitude in Holland towards the Unitas ratrum had changed, with the diffusion of their ideas. A congregation of the United brethren was established at Zeist, and the authorities began to appreciate the value of their work in the colonies.⁴⁸) At the Cape the attitude towards the missionaries, especially among the clergy had undergone a change as well. Two young reformed ministers, an tier and Vos, brought the 'missionary spirit' out to the Cape with them and conducted services for the Hottentots. Thus when Bishop Michel xxx visited the Cape on his return from India, he realised that the tide had turned.⁴⁹) After the Lutherans had received permission to form their own congregation it would have been illogical for the Company and the clergy further to resist the establishment of a 'Lutheran' mission.⁵⁰)

In 1789, the 'United Brethren petitioned the Company to permit them to send, three Brethren to the Cape. they were to be permitted to choose a suitable location in the interior under the protection of the Company where they would be able to administer the sacraments, preach the Gospel and form a congregation. they further petitioned that they should have the power to appoint and dismiss the missionaries. The Brethren were to sail in a Company's ship at a reasonable price. They promised to avoid everything that would cause resentment among the established churches at the Cape. this plea.

⁴⁵) H.G. Schneider, ., p. 33-34.

Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 20.

⁴⁷) Exs. P. Aces. 1790.

⁴⁸) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 544-5.

⁴⁹) Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, p. 21.

⁵⁰) v. du Plessis, t.41. ix.

tition was granted under three conditions. The number and names of the missionaries should be made known to the Company, they were not to settle in a place already occupied by a Christian congregation, and the missionaries should not be dismissed or appointed without the knowledge of the Company. these conditions, fair in themselves, were open to varying interpretations. The second condition was exploited by certain persons in an attempt to drive the missionaries out of the Colony into the interior.⁵¹ It was under these conditions that Karsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel resumed Schmidt's work at the Cape.

?1) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 37-8.

III
missionaries and their work at Genadendal
1772:-187:—

The century of missionary work in Genadendal from 1792 to 1892 can be divided into four periods. The first period of initial difficulties and of consolidation, stretches from the first arrival of missionaries to the visitation of Brother C.I . Latrobe in 1816. The second period, one of vigorous expansion and improvement commences with the stimulus given by the visitation of Latrobe and ends with the death of the beloved and energetic organiser, bishop Hans Peter Ballbeck in 1840. The third period is characterised by the increasing opposition of both the inhabitants at Genadendal and the Colonists to missionary work. It extends from 1840 when C.L . Teutsch became Superintendent till the 1860ies when Künnel became Superintendent and Berea was founded. The fourth period ushers in developments making for the independence of the Church of the United Brethren in South Africa especially after the division of the mission field into an Eastern and a Western province in 1859. It really only comes to a close in 1922 when the first Church Conference for South Africa West was held.¹) It is a period where the missionaries increasingly realise that the ideal of a Coloured community on the pattern of the Herrnhut community, is no longer practicable because of the early effects of the Industrial Revolution in the Cape.)

F i r s t P e r i o d.

The three first missionaries, Hendrik Marsveld, from Gouda in Holland, Daniel Schwinn from Erbach in the Odenwald and Johann Christian Kühnel from Ober-Seiersdorf in the Lausitz were all ordained deacons of the Church of the United Brethren.³) They arrived in Cape Town in November, 1792 and were cordially welcomed by all those sincerely interested in missionary work. They stayed in the home of one of these friends. The government advised them to proceed to the place where Schmidt had worked as there were still Hottentots there.⁴) They proceeded with Teunissen, the commander of the Company's post Zoetemelkswaai, into the interior. On the 24th December, 1792 they reached Baviaanskloof. They found

1) L.R. Schmidt, Die Broederkerk, p. 12.

2) Nachrichten aus der Brüdergemeine 5. heft, 1885: Bericht von Gandenthal 1884; 1. heft, 1888: Bericht von Gnadenthal Jul—Dez., 1886.

3) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 40.

4) Exs . Aces. journal of aviaanskloof , rov., 1792-14ch., 1793.

ruins of Schmidt's house and some of the fruit trees he had planted.⁵) A little further away they found the only remaining baptized convert of Georg Schmidt, Old Lena or

Magdalena⁷. after greeting the missionaries with the words:

'hank' be to God." she produced a Dutch New Testament concealed in a leather bag covered with sheepskin, in parch

a new building at Baviaanskloof had been erected by the Hottentots assisted by two Coloured neighbours. The missionaries then moved to their new home from Zoetemelksvallei.

They immediately commenced teaching the Hottentots and they had an attendance of twenty—five on the first day. It was⁶ not necessary for them to go out and seek Hottentots.^j

In July, 1793 the first baptism took place. At the end of 1794 the congregation consisted of thirty—six baptized persons.⁷) The only major setback at this time occurred in

1795 when the missionaries were ordered, by the insurgent leader Pisani to leave Baviaanskloof. They retreated to⁸ Cape Town, but soon returned and recommenced their work.⁸)

The British government was generous in the permission and help it gave for the building of a chapel at Genadendal. The first temporary chapel was dedicated in March, 1796. In the years 1799–1800 the church, which was in use till 1692 and could^{seek} over a thousand persons, was erected.

Before this, reinforcements had been sent out. Brother and Sister Kohrhammer arrived in May, 1798, and thus the first woman missionary commenced work at Baviaanskloof. Two years later, Schwinn returned from a visit to Germany to⁹,
together with his wife, Brother and Sister Aulsebrook, and the two brides of Marsveld and Rose, who had been a missionary in Labrador, was sent out to cope with the precarious financial situation, which had arisen on account of the many visitors at Baviaanskloof and Schwinn's confused bookkeeping. When he arrived there were about 130 at the station. Rose was an efficient and vigorous man. His early death in 1805 was a great blow to the mission.⁹) The period of Batavian rule brought steady improvement at Baviaanskloof and in 1806, Governor Janssens suggested the name Genadendal which has since been the name of the first missionary station at

⁵) Afrikanischer Reimatkalendar 1948. G.P.S. Trümpelmann
Der Birnbaum von Gnadenhal. p. 57.f.

⁶) Exs. Accs. Journal Bk/f. Nov., 1792–Mch., 1793.

⁷) *ibid.*, Journal Bk/f. 1794.

⁸) G Schneider, *ibid.* p. 134–6.

ibid., p. 152–64 Exs. P. Accs. Journals Bk/f. 1795–1805.

the Cape.¹⁰) The permanent British administration of the Colony since 1806 was es sympathetic. Caledon suggested a new station at Groenekloof in 1808. Kuester and Schmitt sad just arrived and there were thus enough missionaries to start the work there.¹¹) After this, there followed a regular flow of missionaries into the country until in 1611 there were six married Brethren at Genadendal alone.¹²)

N^otrhammer died in. June, 1611 and Kühnel in April, 1613.¹³) The measure of the Brethren's work in this period can be ,gauged from the numbers quoted in the diary for 1612. The congregation then consisted of 676 persons, of 'thorn 296 were communicants, while there were 1073 persons living at Genadendal.¹⁴)

Second Perio d.

visitation of Latrobe, the society's secretary in London, in 1816 had a stimulating effect on the mission. **It was during** his visit that the overseers' or 'opzieners' conference was established and the Rules and regulations formulated which were to play so important a part in the secular administration of , Genadendal.¹⁵ .t was due to his insight tat the able Hans Peter Hellbeck was entrusted with the task of leading the mission in South Africa.

hallbeck reached Genadendal early in 1318 and immediately commenced labouring, vigorously for the expansion of the mission. four more stations were founded during his period of office (1818), Him (1824) - to relieve the con-¹⁶ gestion at Genadendal - Shiloh (1823), and Clarkson (1839).¹⁶)

at concerns us here are the improvements which hallbeck initiated at Genadendal in the educational and administrative field. he was mainly responsible for l.l.e establishments of **the infant** school (1831) and the training School (1338).

Durin_g his term of office the rules and regulations were revised and approved of bi_g the Governor. In the main they remained unaltered from 1827 till 1892. In 1638 the emanci-

10) Papers Relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Inhabitants of Southern Africa in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Part I. Extracts from Notes of P.B. Borchard

11) Periodical Accounts of the Missions of the United Brethren. LII: Letter from Kühnel, G., 12th Jan., 1808; LIV: Diary of Genadendal, Jan. - Feb., 1808.

12) *ibid.*, LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811.

13) *ibid.*, LXIII: Diary G., Aug., 1810 - Jan., 1811; LXIX: Diary G., Jan., - Apl., 1813.

14) *ibid.*, LXVI: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1812.

15) C.I. Latrobe, Journal of Visit to South Africa, p. 389-90.

16) L.R. Schmidt, Die Broederkerk, p. 8.

pation of the slaves affected Genadendal. Hallbeck was responsible for the admittance of many freed slaves. **Au** steered the mission of the United brethren through the troubled waters of the days of Dr. Philip in such a manner that there were few if any, outbursts by the colonists against the Brethren, although Hallbeck personally held much the same views as Dr. Philip.¹⁷) Hallbeck¹⁸ also showed his vision by commencing services at outposts.) with the death of Hallbeck on the 25th, November, 1840, a period of steady, vigorous improvement **in** Genadendal came to an end. The congregation at the end of 1840 numbered 2,187 souls, of whom 693 were communicants.¹⁹)

Third Period

Brother C.L. Teutsch took over Hallbeck's work and inaugurated a period of consolidation. During his time the congregation gradually increased until at his death and the succession of Kölbing in 1852 the number of 3,000 had been reached. This seemed to be the saturation point of Genadendal for thirty years later the number was approximately the same.^{20N}) Doubts as to the legality of the rules and regulations, opposition of a section of the residents to the missionaries and the effects of the increasing power of the colonists in the Cape government began to make themselves felt.') into this period also falls the visitation of Genadendal by Bishop B. Breutel, who arrived in 1853.²²) In 1858 Genadendal was granted a legal title recognising it as a 'grant station' held in trust for the Coloured inhabitants by the Superintendent.²³)

Fourth :period.

With the succession in 1861 of Brother F. *. Kühn as Superintendent,²⁴) Genadendal was fairly set on the road towards independence from the mission Directory in Europe.

17) Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlement) together with Minutes of Evidence. (Hallbeck) 1836. exs. -. Aces. Hallbeck, 9th Jul., 1834.

Nchr. ., 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1339.

19) *ibid.*, 1. 1843: Ber. Gs, 1640.

20) r. Aces. CCXIX 1853: C. A. Kölbing, G., 13th Jan., 1853. Nchr., 4. 1890: Ber. Gs, 1888.

¹) k. Aces. CCX 1851: C.L. Teutsch, G., 5A1 Wt., 1850.

²²) *ibid.*, CCXX/II 1854: C. A. Kölbing, G., 14th Oct., 1853. Nchr., 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

³) e. Accs. CXL 1858: C.R. Kölbing, G., 15th May, 1858.

²⁴) *ibid.*, CVLili 1861: B. Marx, G., 13th Jun., 1861.

Men Kühn departed for Europe in 1865 to take up an appointment on the mission Board, Bechler succeeded him as Superintendent.²⁵) He continued the policy already commenced in the previous period and which Kühn had accentuated in the foundation of Berea, viz., that of decentralisation.²⁶) The work at the outstations of Twistwyk, Greyton and Kopjes Kas-teel now became even more important. Towards the end of this period the missionary policy had to adapt itself to the emergence of an industrial migratory labour force. The missionaries followed the workers from Genadendal into Cape Town and up and down the railway lines.²⁷) With a supreme effort the congregation was able to find the funds necessary to erect a new jubilee Church, inaugurated by Bishop Buchner during his visitation in March, 1893.²⁸) The economy of the community at Genadendal was very precarious in the last decades of the century and the missionaries were desperately trying to find new 'industries' for the community.²⁹) The division of the South African mission field into two separate provinces paved the way towards the independence of the Moravian Church in the Western Cape.³⁰)

This brief historical summary will now be supplemented by a survey of the Moravian methods and the results they achieved.

The aim of the missionaries at Genadendal was to Christianise the Hottentots and this implied civilising them as well, for - in their opinion - the converts had to be gathered together in a community to receive effective religious instruction.³¹) Within a Christian community only was it possible to create the most propitious conditions for their wards to experience a truly personal and individual relation to their Saviour. The methods the Brethren used to achieve this can be grouped under three major heads, the religious care for the individual, the inculcation of Christian principles upon the community, and the actual preaching of the gospel to the inhabitants as a group. After an exposition of these measures the various obstacles hampering

²⁵) P. Aces. CCLXXI 1866: W.F. Bechler, G., 9th Nov., 1865.

²⁶) Nchr., 3. 1868: Ber. Berea, Jun., 1865 - Dez., 1866.

²⁷) ibid., 1. 1888: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1886.

²⁸) P. Aces. 14. 1895. A Red Letter Day for G.

²⁹) Nchr., 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. Jul., 1886.

³⁰) L.R. Schmidt, Die Broederkerk, p. 11-12.

³¹) Select Committee Aborigine, Evidence, Hallbeck, 1836.

their effectiveness and the factors facilitating the Christianisation of the detribalised Hottentots will be described.

perhaps the most conspicuous element in the work of these devoted Brethren is the conscientious care they lavished on the individual convert. They have been criticised for this and it is said on account of this that their converts lack strength of character.³²⁾ As soon as the individual joined the community he was immediately put into his station in the hierarchy of church privilege. The lowest rank was occupied by the 'Dew People or 'hehrlinge.³³⁾

They comprised people who had been permitted to reside in the institution but were not yet converted. They were visited individually by the missionaries. As soon as the missionaries were of the opinion that they sincerely wished to embrace the Christian faith, they were considered as candidates for baptism.³⁴⁾ During this period they underwent special instruction and their motives were continually investigated by means of the so called 'speakings'.³⁵⁾ Great caution was exercised in selecting candidates for baptism, as the aim of the missionaries was to gain sincere converts. Thus by

Januarys, 1799 the missionaries had only baptised 114 adults and 85 children, out of a population of nearly 800.³⁶⁾ After the missionaries had satisfied themselves that the candidate truly merited baptism, the test of determining by means of drawing lots, whether Christ approved of the baptism, was carried out. This method was used to determine advancements in church privilege in the beginning.³⁷⁾

General Synod of 1818 no longer considered the drawing of lots to be essential for important decisions.) Children of baptized parents received a different treatment. The

Brethren were not opposed to infant baptism. But since (Christian children were considered unable to benefit by religious instruction, they received the necessary instruction later.³⁹⁾

When the Brethren considered the baptized to be ripe for a

32) J. Stewart, p. 85.

33) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 167-8.

34) P.Accs. LXV: Diary G., Jan.-Jun., 1812.

35) C.I. Latrobe, p. 100; k. Aces. LXVI: Diary G., Jul. - Des., 1812.

36) Exs. k. Acca. Account of laying foundation stone of church, 8th Jan., 1799.

37) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 87.

38) Ad., Schulze, Abriss, p. 133r.

39) Nchr. 2. 1819: Ber. G., 1817.

further advancement in church privilege, he was admitted to the class of the Candidates for Communion. Here again he received special instruction.⁴⁷⁾ There were speakings with him which the missionary and his wife, who reviewed the candidates spiritual life with him reported to the conference of missionaries.⁴¹⁾ When the candidate was considered sufficiently advanced in his experience of the Saviour, he was permitted to partake of the Holy Communion. When the converts had reached this final stage they were by no means exonerated from the strict supervision of their thought and actions. They were still expected to attend the 'speakings'.⁴³⁾ The main criterion for the advancement from one rank to another was not the knowledge of Christian principles or some other external attributes, but the sincerity of the individual's faith, there are instances of persons permitted to attend Communion although unable to speak Dutch.)

The missionaries were always prepared to give individual advice on spiritual matters and the converts with problems were expected to interview them and they did so.⁴⁵⁾ The first three Missionaries were overwhelmed with such visits as all, who attended the services, felt that they had to see the missionaries individually after each service, but this was stopped in May, 1795.⁴⁶⁾ Regular meetings with the various classes were, however, organised in which the emphasis was on conversations between the missionaries and the individual convert, known as 'Speakings'. Such meetings were even organised for the members of the congregation who had been deprived of their church privileges but were still living in the institution.⁴⁷⁾ Besides 'class speakings' there were fairly frequently so called 'general speakings' when every member of the congregation was spoken to indi-

⁴⁰⁾ G. Latrobe, p. 100ff.

⁴¹⁾ Missionary Register, Oct., 1820: Diary G., Jan. - Jun. 1819.

^{42) Nchr} . 6. 1821: her. G., Jan. - ai, 1819.

⁴³⁾ P. Aces. Diary G., Aug., 1810 - Jun., 1811; Nchr. 2. 1839: tier. (h, 1836; C.I. Latrobe, p. 132.

⁴⁴⁾ P. Aces. LXV. Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1812.

⁴⁵⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 101; k. Aces. al: Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1812; Exs. k. ACCS. Journal (h, 1795.

⁴⁶⁾ Exs. r. Aces. Journal G., 1795.

⁴⁷⁾ P. Aces. LIV: Diary G., Jan. - Feb., 1808.

⁴⁸⁾ e.g. Nchr. 3. 1845: Bar. G., 1842, 2. 1854: her. 4. Jan. - Jun., 1852; Exs. P. Aces. Journal G., 1795.

vidually.⁴⁸⁾ In the beginning it was possible to reach every member of the congregation in this manner but in 1857 only about a thousand attended.⁴⁹⁾ The 'speaking' classes were divided according to sex, the Brethren speaking to the men and the Sisters to the women. When Sister Kohrhammer arrived in Lay, 1798, she immediately took up the duty of speaking to the women of the congregation individually.⁵⁰⁾ The missionaries visited members of the congregation, especially when these requested it. They were thus often present at the death of members of the congregation.⁵¹⁾

As the number of inhabitants increased it was found necessary to adapt this system, although the principle of strict individual care was maintained. In 1658 the community was divided into a number of sections and a Brother and his wife were made responsible for each section. By this method more frequent visits to individuals in their homes could be made.⁵²⁾ In December 1666 this system was further improved upon. Genadendal was divided into five districts. To the duties of a Brother and his wife in charge of a district, which so far had been restricted to visiting and comforting the sick was now added the responsibility for conducting the 'general speaking' as well as the class 'speaking'. The reform increased the amount of individual attention received by (each member of the congregation.) In the individual care of souls the missionaries to some extent made use of assistants from among the inhabitants who were called chapel-servants. They had the duty of admonishing individuals and reproving them for blameworthy conduct. They had also to visit the sick. Hallbeck considered these untrained assistants of no great value.⁵⁴⁾ In spite of Hallbeck's opinion untrained assistants continued to be employed. In 1680 women Bible readers were appointed with the special duty of taking the word of God to the sick and aged. They were further expected to visit people who had left off attending the services. The missionaries, however, had no

48 e.g. Nchr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842, 2. 1854: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1852; "accs. 1). *cos. Journal G., 1795.

49) Nchr. 6.-1858: Jan. - Okt., 1857.

50) EXs. P. Accs. Journal G., May - Jun., 1798.

51) e.g. Has. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1799, Journal Sklf. 1801; Nchr. 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

52) Nchr. 4. 1860: Bar. G., Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858.

53) *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

54) *Firs.* 2. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 10th Jan., 1834; Appendix A, 11, 12.

greet faith in the success of this measure.⁵⁵⁾ Another instance of untrained assistance was of more promise. Between 1843 and 1894, Stephan Prins, a chapel-servant, journeyed up and down along the new railway line between Worcester and Kimberly, to care for the souls of the Genadendalers who had found work there. Ark Absalom volunteered to continue the work after his death.⁵⁶⁾

The Brethren realised that it would be necessary to teach the Hottentots and Coloureds to run their community on Christian lines, if their painstaking work with individuals was to have any lasting effect. For this reason the congregation was divided according to the station of the various individuals into groups or 'choirs' of children, young men, young women, married people, widows and widowers.

Separate meetings were held with 'Leese groups and the general speakings' were based on these divisions.⁵⁷⁾ In the meetings the missionaries instructed the various groups in the principles according to which they should lead their lives in a Christian family and in a Christian community. Parents and guardians of children for instance, were admonished when they had not fulfilled the obligations towards their dependents.⁵⁸⁾ Special care was taken in exhorting the single women as they were considered to be particularly liable to temptation.⁵⁹⁾ These choirs held group festivals, every year. The accounts mention the children's festival fairly frequently.⁶⁰⁾ Before each festival there was usually a 'speaking'.⁶¹⁾ They could be postponed or cancelled as punishment of a certain group.⁶²⁾ They served as an inducement for children to come to school as only those were permitted to take part who had attended school. The men were sometimes persuaded to perform work for the congregation after such a festival.⁶⁴⁾

⁵⁵⁾ Nchr. 8. 1381: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1880.

⁵⁶⁾ Aces. No. 546 1885 Diary G., 1884 1883, No. 549 1885 Diary G., Jul., 1884 - Jul., 1885, No. 22 1895 notes from the western Province; Nchr. 5. 1885: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1334.

⁵⁷⁾ Latrobe, p. 101; Lehr. 6. 1358: Ber. G., Jan. - Okt., 1857

⁵⁸⁾ 1. Accs. LVIII: Diary U., Jan. - Spt., 1809, LXX.: Diary G., May - June., 1813; Velar. 1. 1631: Ber. G., 1828.

⁵⁹⁾ Nchr. 1. 1825: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1823.

⁶⁰⁾ e.g. F. Acts. CXCV 1847: Diary G., 1845.

⁶¹⁾ Nchr. 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

⁶²⁾ ibid., 5. 1640: Ber. G., 1838.

⁶³⁾ ibid., 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1834.

⁶⁴⁾ ibid., 1. 1823: Ber. G., Apr. - Spt., 1821.

A further method of inducing the community to live according to Christian principles was the formation, in the middle of the Nineteenth Century, of societies such as the Missionary Association, Bible Associations,⁶⁵⁾ and Young Men's and Women's Associations.⁶⁶⁾ The Missionary Association tried to induce its members to support missionary work outside Genadendal with both prayer⁶⁷⁾ and pence. The Young Men's and Women's Associations were formed with the aim of strengthening the Christian character of their members and of imparting useful knowledge. Their subscriptions were to be used for the purchase of books and the support of the sick and needy. All associations were accepted with a certain amount of enthusiasm at first, but interest in them soon waned. For instance, the membership of the Missionary Society, dropped from 332 in 1845 to 263 in 1848 because their subscriptions were not paid.⁶⁸⁾ In 1866, when it is mentioned for the last time its membership was 37.⁶⁹⁾ The Young men's and Women's Associations had, like the Missionary Association, a low subscription of three pence per month.⁷⁰⁾ They are mentioned in the accounts only once, at their inception; hence they cannot have existed for long and had to be re-established in the twentieth Century. The associations were an attempt to enrich the Christian life of the Inhabitants of Genadendal. Two reasons may be suggested for their failure. They were thrust upon the members by the missionaries, not spontaneously developed; and the spiritual life of the community, seems not to have been developed enough to ensure their survival. There are two associations, however, which still exist, the two burial societies. They were formed in the last decade of the Nineteenth century and the first decade of the Twentieth Century.

In 1802 the congregation was asked to contribute a certain amount towards some articles needed for the proper performance of divine service. The first subscriptions were at the rate of one shilling per person per annum. At first the members of the congregation were so eager to pay that a

65) Accs. CCII 1849: D.W. Suhl, G., 31st Aug., 1848.

66) *ibid.*, 1361: Diary G., 1860.

67) Achr. 1. 1848: Ber. 0., 1845.

68) *ibid.*, 6. 1843: Ber. G., 1846, 1. 1850: Ber. 0., 1848.

69) *ibid.*, 11. 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

70) *ibid.*, 1. 1862: Ber. G., 1860.

⁷¹⁾ Information from Rev. L.R. Schmidt.

) Information from Rev. L.R. Schmidt.

shilling had to be given to the needy out of the poor box so that they too were able to pay their contribution. The missionaries observed that:

support a common interest, which surely all must feel, in providing the means of meeting together to worship God in fellowship."")

14 these means the missionaries attempted to make the congregation realise that it was a unit and had a corporate responsibility.

also ensured that members came to feel a responsibility for the church building, the centre of corporate life of the congregation. The need for a church **was** felt very soon but only after the Cape was occupied by the British in 1795 could a chapel and later a fairly large church be erected. The church, as all the buildings on the 'werft', was erected **with** the help of the Hottentots and was completed and consecrated in January, 1800.⁷⁵⁾ It is described **by a** visitor in the following words:

"...die Kirche, ein einfaches, massives Viereck von etwa 100 Fuss im Quadrat, an weichen jedoch

Dach nicht gefallen, wodurch man dem Gebäude eine anständige Höhe hat geben wollen. Innen stehen zwei Reihen Menken und ein einfacher Predigtstuhl, alles so wie die Wände, die Pfeiler, Thüren und die Emporkirche von der grössten Einfachheit, aber derb, in guten Verhältnissen und reinlich gearbeitet. Das Gebälk ist alles von Gelbholz, dessen angestrichene Farbe und Politur dem Gebäude ein sehr sauberes Ansehen giebt...)

It was designed to seat over a thousand people but on certain occasions it proved too small for the throng of worshippers.

After having been used for almost a century it had to be replaced. In 1803 the congregation commenced collecting

73) Aces. Diary G., Mch. Spt., 1802.

74) e. ibid., Journal Bk. 1795, Journal Bk. Jul.-Dec. 1798.

75) ibid., Journal Bk. Jul., 1799 - Jan., 1800.

76) H. Lichtenstein: Reisen in südlichen Afrika in den Jahren 1803, 1804, 1805 und 1806. Berlin, 1811. Vol. I. p. 248-9. (...the church, a simple, massive building 100 feet square, was spoiled externally by the slightly too **sharp** gable and the too steep roof added to the buildings to give it a more impressive height. Inside stand two rows of benches and an unassuming pulpit. All, such as the walls, the columns, doors, and the raised gallery of the greatest simplicity, but strong, in good condition and neatly built, the timber is all, yellow-wood, that gives the building a tidy appearance with its pleasing colour and polish...)

money for a new church.⁷⁷⁾ With the help of friends from overseas the sum of £3100 was raised by 1893, of which the congregation itself had collected £1225. It also net the debt of A.:338 which remained after the church had been built. Brother Hettasch was both architect and supervisor of the building operations. **He** worked with the help of two

Genadendal- carpenters, a German mason, a German *ship's* careenter, mid about 40 **labourers** from the villa .e who came every day. The church which seats 1400 people was inaugurated by the visiting Bishop Buchner on the 15th, march, 1693.⁷⁸⁾

frequent services conducted within the church, were based on those traditional in the congregations of the United Brethren. In March, 1793, the first instructions in the scriptures were inaugurated commencing one hour before sunset.⁷⁹⁾ any more were added on until in 1892, there was a service practically every evening of the week.

The order of services was as follows: On
Tuesday evening Old Testament exposition, on
Wednesday a singing meeting, on Thursday a service for
the native assistants, both male and female, ...
On Friday evening there was exposition of the
New Testament, and on Saturday another singing
meeting, at which the naive teacher ^{ear} pre-
sided and offered an edifying prayer.⁴⁾

in 1860 a morning prayer was introduced. It was very well attended even in unpleasant weather.⁸¹⁾ men and women sat in separate sections of the church during all services.⁸²⁾

The most important day for religious services though, was of course 'Sunday. In 1832 they were livened up by an organ presented by a lady in France, who had visited Genadendal.⁸³⁾ The Sunday services were described by a visitor in the early Sixties in the following way:

"I found the religious services very, edifying.
in the forenoon, after the instruction for the
candidates for baptism, the church litany was prayed
in the course of which certain passages were sung,
the organ being played by a pupil of the Training-
School. **The** congregation then dispersed for a short
tie, and afterwards reassembled for the sermon,

77) .Aces. No. 546 1885: Diary G., 1E83 and 1884.

78) *ibid.*, to 14. 1893: A sled better **Day** for G.

79) *exs.* P. Aces. Journal **boy.**, 1792-Mch., 1793.

80) ACCS . 110. 13. 1893 Visitation by Brother Buchner.

81) N hr. 1. 1852: Ber. G., 1860.

82) C.1. Latrobe, p. 90; D. Fairbridge, Letters from the Gape by Lade Duff Gordon. 1937. p. 104-5; J. Backhouse, A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa. 1844. p. 97.

⁸³⁾ Behr. 6. 1834: **Ber. G., 1832.**

which I had been requested to deliver. ... In the afternoon, two adults were baptized. One of the missionaries delivered a suitable address, after which the Litany appointed for such occasions was read and sure. At the evening

were arranged around the central service which contained the sermon:

'The Predigt' was delivered after more singing, by a missionary cabinet-maker, in Dutch., very ranting, and not very wise: the congregation was singularly decorous and attentive, but did not seem at all excited or impressed... The service lasted three-quarters of an hour, including a short prayer and two hymns.

On the Treat festivals of the Church the special litanies of the United Brethren were performed by the congregation, for instance, the famous Easter Litany sung before sunrise on the burial ground. SG In a similar solemn manner were celebrated the awakening of the little girls at Herrnhut in 1727,⁸⁸) and the Mission Festival.)

The first native assistant to officiate at a service was Ezechiel Pfeiffer who in 1851 held the evening service. The congregation was very impressed.⁸⁹)

There were two main motives for extending missionary activity to outstations beyond the confines of Genadendal. The first was that the missionaries increasingly felt that there existed a need for serving the surrounding country. The second reason was that the missionaries feared that the numerous labourers outside Genadendal would decline in spiritual matters if they lost contact with the congregation. Bishop Hallbeck was the first missionary to conceive the idea of serving the labourers on neighbouring farms whose owners allowed the Brethren to hold services there. In Lay, 1839 Hallbeck preached for the first time on the farm Matjesgat. Its owner, a Mr. Grönewald, was a sincere Christian and a great friend of the Brethren.⁹⁰) Another similar outstation

³⁴) A. Aces. CCLXI 1863: Description of G., by rev. J. Murray.

⁸⁵) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 106.

⁶) ix. 2. Aces. Journal Bklf. 18U1.

87) P. Aces. LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811.

~~88~~chr . 1. 1852: Bee. G. Jul. - Dec., 1850.

89) P. Aces. CCXI 1851: D.W. Suhl, G., 12th Feb., 1851. One of the Overseers, John Ruyter said: "The word of our late Brother Hallbeck has now become true, that we should one day be reproved by teachers of our own nation."

~~90~~chr . 5. 1841: Der. G., 1839.

was founded at Kopjes asteel, where a chapel, was completed in 1841.⁹¹⁾ The most important of this type of out-station was Twistwyk, the farm of Commandant Linde. A chapel was inaugurated there in July, 1853.⁹²⁾ The work at these places was liable to be interrupted when a farm changed hands.⁹³⁾

From 1803 when Kührhammer and his wife, at the request of Governor Janssens, proceeded to the camp for hottentot soldiers at Wynburg among whom were many from Genadendal,⁹⁴⁾ the Brethren took it upon themselves to follow members wherever they were driven by economic necessity. When Coloureds were no longer employed as soldiers members used to leave the institution during harvest time and in famine years. They dispersed over such a large area that it was difficult for the missionaries to work among them effectively. When, rail and road construction commenced in the last three decades of the nineteenth century and towns and mines began to exercise their pull on the floating labour force at Genadendal, the missionaries found it easier to follow them as they were concentrated on the railway lines and urban areas. The first step in this branch of missionary work was made in the pastoral tours of the chapel-servant, Ste-phan Prins, mentioned above.⁹⁵⁾ The missionaries chose a Coloured man because it was cheaper for him to travel and he could devote more time to his work. But they themselves were not averse to do this exacting work. Brother Hettasch for instance, undertook similar tours and travelled as far as Kimberley.⁹⁶⁾ A further step in this direction was the establishment of the church in Cape Town at Moravian mainly for inhabitants of Genadendal who had found work there.

The station known as Beet, had a special status. It was situated on Genadendal land and had a resident missionary. The founding of Bera was due to the congestion at Genadendal. In 1864, the Brethren realised that a systematic settlement

91) Nchr. 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839, 2. 1844: Ber. G., 1841.

92) *ibid.*, 4. 1851: Ber. G., Jan-Jun., 1850, 4. 1855: Ber. G., Jan. - Spt., 1853.

93) *ibid.*, 6. 1857: Ber. Gs, Jul. - Dez., 1865.

94) 11103. v. Aces. Diary Bklf. May, 1805 - Nov., 1804.

95) F. Aces. No. 346 Diary G., 1884 and 1883.

96) . 1. 1888: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1886

97) *ibid.*, note 96 above.

in the neighbouring valley, settled against their will at first, it relieve to overcrowding. a house and a chapel were erected at Berea and a missionary was posted there.⁹⁸⁾ in October, 1855 the chapel was consecrated by the first missionary Brother B. liar'.⁹⁹⁾ The visiting Brother Buchner did not think that Berea merited the full time attention of a healthy man. in consequence the resident missionary often held an additional office.¹⁰⁰⁾

On outstations the method of instructing tee members and the care of the community was identical with that in Genadendal, although on a smaller scale.¹⁰¹⁾ 'Speakings' were held at all outstations. As soon as possible naive school teachers from the .raining School were posted to them. They usually did a certain amount of religious work.¹²⁾

A number of factors hampered the application of these methods. These factors derived mainly from the mentality of the Hottentots. Idle problem of language, one of the difficulties in missionary work generally, was not important. Lost of the Hottehtots had¹⁰³⁾ learned to speak some Dutch when the missionaries arrived. j In the beginning there were only a fey people who did not know Dutch,¹⁰⁴⁾ besides some members of tee Bent tribes.¹⁰⁵⁾

ore serious as than the language problem wits the character development of some Hottentots under European contact. Soon the missionaries noticed that some of them, ...having been some time among the white people, have learnt to talk religiously but are net al- to be trusted

he missⁱonaries found it hard in such cases to determine whether the motives for conversion were genuine.¹⁰⁶⁾ Even hallbeck, who was very sympathetic towards the Hottehtots,¹⁰⁷⁾ criticises them for their lack of energy of mind, inability

98) k. Aces. CCLXVI 1865: *F.W. Kühn*, 16th Spt., 1864 and *Diary G.*, Jan. <lam., 1865.

99) . 6. 1867: *Ber. G.*, Jul. - Dee., 1865.

) P.Acs. 140. 18 1894: visitation of Br. Buchner.

)chr . 6. 1858: *Ber.* (... Jan. - Okt., 1857.

102) *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1862: *Ber. G.*, 1861.

103) . P. Aces. *Journal Bklf. Loy.*, 1792 - Mch., 1793.

104) *ibid.*, *Journal rk1.t.* 1801.

) P. Aces. /Da: *Diary G.*, Jan. - Jun., 1812.

¹⁰⁶⁾ exs. e. Aces. *Journal Bklf.* 1799.

¹⁰⁷⁾) Select committee, *Aborigine, Evidence*, hallbeck, 1836.

to persevere **awl** their lack of independence of character. But he adds:

...in all probability a great variety of unfavourable circumstances have combined to produce this evil, and that for this very reason the cure is one of considerable difficulty.")

the missionaries fully realised that they had come to a socially backward people, whose faults were a result of the conditions they lived in. the missionaries also found that harvest workers were prone to "fall into sin, one reason being that the labourers were temporarily released from the supervision at Genadendal.¹⁰⁹⁾

Certain factors, however, facilitated work among the Hottentots and partially explain the success of the Brethren. any of the Hottentots told the missionaries that they had heard about Christianity from their European Masters. The Brethren thus occasionally built on foundations laid by others.¹¹⁰⁾ In addition, no resistance was offered to Christian teaching by the traditional religion of the Hottentots. It had lost its hold on them and their tribal system had broken down. The captains, who played a certain role in early Genadendal society were probably only 'kraal' headmen.¹¹¹⁾ they were also susceptible to the highly emotional appeal of the teachings of the first three Brethren. Not only the first journals, but neutral observers like Barrow¹¹²⁾ mention the flowing of tears in the congregation.)

The system of church discipline at Genadendal played an important part in the methods of the Brethren. To understand it a short account of the structure of the congregation is indicated. the affairs of the congregation were controlled by the missionaries and a Kerkraad, whose members were called chapel-servants. it was primarily concerned with administration of spiritual matters,¹¹³⁾ and the care of church property such as the poor **money**. But they had also

¹⁰⁸⁾ Papers relative to Natives. Brief Sketch of **the Origin** .progress and present State of the Missions of the United Brethren in the Colony of the Cape of Good hope. Hennepeck, 1823.

¹⁰⁹⁾ P. Aces. LXIX: Diary 4., Jan. - Apr., 1813; Lehr. 2. 1354: Tier. G., Jan. - Jun., 1852.

110) e.g. P. Aces. Diary G., Jan. - Spt., 1809.

111) G.1. Latrobe, pp. 398-403.

112) G. Schneider, G. p. 76, J. Barrow, Travels into the Interior of southern Africa. vol. 1. p. 310-11.

113) Appendix A, III, 3, 4, 9, 12.

secular duties which resembled those of the 'opsieners' (overseers) who formed part of the civic administration of the community. In practice there was therefore an overlap of functions and because of this, chapel-servants and 'opsieners' had common meetings. ¹¹⁴)

in 1827 the Kerkraad consisted of fourteen chapel-servants later increased to eighteen. ¹¹⁵) in fact the missionaries retained most of the spiritual and secular power, ¹¹⁶) and were always in a position to exert pressure on individual members of the kerkraad. The missionaries, who met every day at table, discussed matters pertaining to the congregation. ¹¹⁷) They were the final authority enforcing church discipline. ¹¹⁸) moreover, the missionaries appointed the members of the Kerkraad and had power to dismiss them for scandalous conduct which involved their expulsion from the congregation. ¹¹⁹)

The post of chapel-servant was not exclusively held by men and in the very earliest journals female chapel-servants are mentioned. ¹²⁰) The chapel-servants were always communicants and were the most fervent Christians in the judgement of the Brethren. ¹²¹) The duties of the chapel-servants can be divided into those concerning the spiritual life of the congregation and the church property and their duties as 'opzieneres'. here, only the former will be discussed. The first chapel-servants were appointed to assist the missionaries in minor duties such as keeping order during services, providing for lighting up the church at evening services and similar responsibilities. ¹²²) Later their duties became more numerous. They took part in the comforting of the sick and other pastoral duties, ¹²³) as we have already seen. Latrobe's impression was that the chapel-servants of both sexes served in the true Christian manner. ¹²⁴)

¹¹⁴) Appendix A, III, 2, 12, 13.

¹¹⁵) *ibid.*, LU, 2.

¹¹⁶) *ibid.*, III, *passim*.

¹¹⁷) B. Aces. No. 13. 1893: Visitation of Br. Buchner.

¹¹⁸) Appendix A, iLL, 5, 6.

¹¹⁹) *ibid.*, III, 15.

¹²⁰) P. Accs. LVIII: Diary G., Jan. Spt., 1809.

¹²¹) h. Lichtenstein, 1. p. 251-2.

¹²²) r. Aces. Diary tr., 1799.

¹²³) r. Aces, Diary G., Riau. - Spt., 1809; Appendix A, III, 12.

¹²⁴) C.I. Latrobe, p. 101.

At the beginning of the year the missionaries had conferences with the kerkraad to remind them of their duties.

These conferences were originally only held to inform the kerkraad of important matters, changes or improvements.¹²⁵) The annual meetings were started by the chapel-servant themselves in 1809.

"Our chapel-servants assembled of their own accord in the avenue leading to the burying ground, to speak with each other about the occurrences of the past year, as they related to their spiritual course. The men sat down on one, and the women on the other side. They began, concluded their conversation with a hymn.")

By 1813 they had developed into regular meetings with the missionaries.¹²⁷)

After the introduction of the office of 'opzieners' the meetings became more frequent.

"Um diese Zeit bezeugten uns die Aufseher und Saaldiener den Wunsch, dass ihnen Gelegenheit möchte gegeben werden, zuweilen zusammen zu kommen, um über die verschiedenen Vorkommnisse in der Gemeinde, die auf ihr Amt und ihren Auftrag Bezug haben, mit einander sprechen zu können."

In 1826 it was therefore decided to have a meeting every month with both the 'opzieners' and the kerkraad.¹²⁸)

It is laid down in the Rules and Regulations that the church discipline was to be administered by the missionaries alone.¹²⁹) It is difficult to distinguish between pure church discipline and the discipline of the settlement, although the government attempted to draw a distinction in 1850.¹³⁰) The actual punishment consisted of a reprimand either given privately or before the assembled missionaries, exclusion from church privileges before the missionaries or before the assembled congregation and finally expulsion from the station.¹³¹) These measures were mainly employed in order to combat vice and immorality. Occasionally, however, they were employed to inculcate the true principles of Christian doctrine. Once a communicant was excluded from the

¹²⁵) exs. P. Aces. Journal Bk1f. 1799.

¹²⁶) t. Aces. ea.: Diary G., Spt. 1809.

¹²⁷) ¹²⁸) ¹²⁹) ¹³⁰) ¹³¹)

) Fehr, 2. 1528: Ber. G., 2^{te} an. März, 1626. (During this time the overseers and the chapel-servants expressed the wish that an opportunity be given them to meet occasionally, to discuss the events in the community related to their mission and their office.)

¹²⁹) Appendix A. III, 5, 8.

¹³⁰) ¹³¹) ¹³²)

) ¹³³) ¹³⁴) ¹³⁵)

Lord's Supper because of her inveterate hatred of another person. She concurred with the judgement of the missionaries as she felt that, though she had forgiven her enemy she as yet did not love her. 132) A person who had been excluded or even expelled from Genadendal could always be rehabilitated if he proved by his conduct that he was worthy of consideration, showed sincere repentance and confessed his faults.¹³³) Members under discipline, unless expelled, were still cared for by the missionaries who had meetings with them.¹⁵⁴) Exclusion was surprisingly effective. Backhouse and Hallbeck record that the individuals concerned were deeply affected.¹³⁵) On the whole, however, persuasion was the most important means of maintaining order in the congregation. Lichtenstein is correct in saying:

"Es ist wirklich zum Erstaunen, dass dies alles ohne Zwangsmittel durch bloße Ermahnung bewerkstelligt werden können. Sie kennen durchaus keine andere Strafe, als Ausschliessung von den Gottesdienst und Verbannung aus der Gemeinde, und auch dazu schreiten sie selten und nur, wenn ein ganz verderbtes Subjekt wiederholte Ermahnungen kein Gehör geben will. 136)

Besides these individual punishments there were cases where the missionaries inflicted joint punishment on Groups. They might postpone the holding of Communion,¹³⁷) or cancel the celebration of the festivals of the single Brethren and Sisters.¹³⁸) In 1798 the missionaries even threatened to leave the Hottentots altogether if they did not improve their behaviour.¹³⁹)

The results the three original missionaries achieved were surprising. They themselves were elated at the eager-

132) P. Aces. TAXI: Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810.

133) Appendix A. III, 7, II, 31; Exs. P. Aces. Journal Bklf. 1795.

154) J. K. ACCS. f1Y: Diary G., Jan. - Feb., 1808.

155) J. Backhouse, p. 98; Miss. Reg. Jan., 1822: Hallbeck 23rd Jan., 1821.

135) n. Lichtenstein, Vol. I. p. 251. (It is really surprising, that all this was achieved without coercion, by simple admonition. The missionaries know no other form of punishment except exclusion from the services and expulsion from the congregations, but these are seldom used, only when a completely depraved person takes no notice of repeated warnings.)

137) = B. 4. Aces. Journal Bklf. 1801.

138) h chr., 1. 1849: Ber. G., 1843.

1A) Ss. 1). ACCS. Journal Bklf. May - Jun., 1798.

cross with which Hottentots flocked to Baviaanskloof.¹⁴⁰)
 A Cape Town friend wrote on the 25th January, 1795, that he
 counted 15e hearers at every meeting he attended.¹⁴¹) In
 1801 the missionaries reported that the people were eager
 to be baptized or admitted to lioly Communion, and that those
 not promoted in church privilege used to shed tears.^{142\}

Thus after only six years of work ther=e were an estimated
 705 people on the station.¹⁴³)

she number in the congregation increaces steadily till
 about 1860, when *there* were just 200 below the 3,0u0 mark.
 An exception to this steady increase came between 1822 and
 1826 when Genadendal underwent severe hardships due to bad
 harvests and a general economic depression in the Cape. The
 number of communicants showed a similar steady increase,
 again with the exception of the years 1622-26. In 1861 it
 reached its peak with over a thousand communicants.

414e rate of increase it should be noted **was** not uniform.
 it accelerated after 1638 when the emancipated slaves joined
 the settlement. The group most affected by the emancipation
 of the slaves was the baptism class, welch in 1835 comprised
 52 candidates, **whereas in** 1539 it had increased to three
 Limes that number.

of ter 1860, however, there was a steady decrease. she
 congregation was reduced to 1,875 souls thirteen years later.
 After 1673 there was again a rise until in 1668 tee figure
 too thousand **was** topped. The class of candidates for bap-
 tism correspondingly dropped to 39 **in** 1873, but rose to 138
 in 1888, in spite of the fact that Genadendal was then no
 longer an important missionary centre.¹⁴⁴)

attendance at the services in proportion to the num-
 ber of the congregation was greater in the early part of the
 century than later. **In an** evening service, attended by
 Latrobe, 400 attended.¹⁴⁵) hallbeck estimated that three
 quarters of those at home and not hindered b_y sickness or

¹⁴⁰⁾ x. 9. P. Aces. Journal Bklf. Iov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

¹⁴¹⁾ *ibid.*, Short report on the condition of — Dec., 1794 - Jan., 1795.

¹⁴²⁾ *ibid.*, Journal 1801.

¹⁴³⁾ *ibid.*, Kohrhammer, 1st Jul., 1798; Appendix B.

¹⁴⁴⁾ appendix 33; P. Accs. CCXXIVIlil 1870: Diary G., 1869 Jul. - Dec., 11th July: "To-day or the first time after a long period we were rejoiced by the baptism of **an** adult." No. 17 1894: Census returns of Cape: 1891 - 445 heathens in the Caledon district.

²⁴⁵⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 87.

other impediments attended daily either school or at church¹⁴⁵

o attendance of adults at week day services declined after 1860 and in 1878 only 10i adults were present at the 'general speaking.' Attendance improved after 1873 again.¹⁴⁷) Attendance at Sunday services did not fluctuate as much; it was good throughout the cenutry.¹⁴⁸) .he attendance at the &mead services, however, was considerably influenced by the agricultural seasons and the nature and time of the harvest.¹⁴⁹) It vas small in the bad harvest years of 1822 and 1823.) When the harvest was later than usual mile Christmas services were poorly attended, but the New Lear services were generally sell attended. Although a capacious Church had been erected in 1800, the number of worshippers often necessitated separate services elsewhere from 1846 onwards.¹⁵⁰) ay¹⁵¹ 1880 the church no longer satisfied their requirements.) This development is the more striking as au increasing number of inha^bitants¹⁵² were finding 'lark outside Genadendal for lengthy periods.)

the women were far more susceptible to the teachings of the missionaries than the men. One reason for this was, as the missionaries realised themselves, that the men left the set ,lament in order to work.¹⁵³) moreover, in 1807 the missionaries report:

"As for the women, there is a more general desire prevailing to grow in the knowledge and grace of our Saviour."

In 1880 the proportion of women to men in the class of the communicants was three to one, although the number of men was equal to the number of women.¹⁵⁵)

of the visitors to Genadendal were impressed by the attentiveness of the Hottentots and their singing at the

146)) Select committee, Aborigineeee, Hallbeck, 1836.

147)hr . 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 16378; ibid., 1. 1380: Ber. J., Jul. - Dee., 1678.

¹⁴⁸) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 104-5; P. Ater,, 13. 1393: Visitation by Br. Buchner 1092-3; ibid., CCXXIII 1854: J.0. Breutel to the Mission-Board (no date.)

149)) Ncbr. 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr - Dee., 1822; ibid., 5. 1824: Bar. Go, Jan. - &are., 1823.

150) ibid., 6. 1348: 13er. Li., 1846.

151.) F. ACCS. No. 328. 1880: A.G. Lettasch 30th Jun., 1880.

152) Lehr. 9. 1874: ire r. G., Jan. - Jan., 1874.

153) ibid., 7. 1831: Ber. u., Jan-Jun., 188J.

¹⁵⁴) P Accs. LIII: Diary G., Spt. - Dec., law,

155)hr . 7. 1881: Ater. 6., Jan. - Jun., 1830.

services. Lady Anne Barnard describes their interest and their singing in the following words:

"The service began after the Presbyterian form with a psalm. Then indeed the note that raised itself to heaven was an affecting one; about one hundred and fifty Hottentots joined in the twenty-third psalm in a tone so sweet, so loud, but so just and true that it was impossible to hear it without, being surprised.

...Not a Hottentots did I see In this congregation that had a bad passion in the countenance; watched them closely - all was sweetness and attention; I was even surprised to observe so feeble vacant eyes, and so little curiosity directed to ourselves;...")

In the middle of the nineteenth Century the tone of the services was not quite so ardent. Lady Duff Gordon, writing in 1862, states that

"...the congregation were singularly decorous and attentive, but did not seem at all excited or impressed..."

She too was impressed by the singing, and states that the six-hundred people present at the more¹⁵⁶ service

...made music more beautiful than any chorus-singing I ever heard. ¹⁵⁸)

And Brother Buchner adds:-

"On both Sundays attendance at the services was excellent, and the singing splendid, for the people are thoroughly musical and have beautiful voices. A native always presides at the cabinet¹⁵⁹ organ and plays without notes..."))

fervour of Christian belief manifested itself occasionally in what was called 'a religious regeneration', usually of short duration. ¹⁶⁰) Sometimes there were spiritual stirrings in one congregation, from which would emanate prayer unions, ¹⁶¹) and spontaneous singing. ¹⁶²)

the tenor of confession made by converts to the Brethren, shows that many sincerely believed that they had experienced the living Christ. ¹⁶³) Many did not show any fear

¹⁵⁶) 13. J. Anderson, Ed., South Africa a Century Ago (1797-1831). Letters and ten from the Cape of Good Hope & Extracts from a Journal by the Lady Anne Barnard. 1924. p. 180-81.

¹⁵⁷) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 106.

¹⁵⁸) ibid., p. 104.

¹⁵⁹) 2. Aces. No. 13. 1893: visitation by Mr. Buchner.

¹⁶⁰) e.g. ibid., LXIV: Diary G., Jul., 1811 Dec., 1811; ibid., No. 349. 1835: Zee Awakening of the Children at G.,

¹⁶¹) ibid., CCLII 1861: F.W. Kühn G., 19th Mch., 1861.

¹⁶²) ibid., let: Diary G., Jan. - Feb., 1810.

¹⁶³) Nchr. 2. 1839: Ber. G., 1836.

on their death beds.¹⁵⁴) The Brethren admit, however, that a number of their wards were converted genuinely only in the face of death.¹⁶⁵) Hallbeck, writing in 1821 states:

"...that most of the Baptized and Communicants, when tried by affliction, are pattern of Lord.")

Brother Buchner towards the end of the Nineteenth Century reports:

"...what struck me very forcibly, was that when we made visits in the village, all 6140 people and especially the women, at once began spiritual conversation. the people are deeply interested in spiritual things; they have a good degree of religious knowledge, and feel deeply on such matters. They manifest an uncommonly childlike confidence in the religious sphere, and a quick perception of the grace of our Saviour.")

the Brethren were sober minded enough to realize shortcomings in their charges. They complained of occasional hypocrisy. Such complaints increased after 1850.¹⁶⁸) Visiting clergyman refer to the formality of the congregation at Genadendal.¹⁶⁹) Buchner, in the context of the state-just quoted, points out that spiritual interest was not infrequently superficial.¹⁷⁰)

If these were the results of missionary labour it behooves to examine more closely the character of the men and women by whom they were achieved, in general the missionaries of the Unified Brethren were German however, except one such as the eldest of the first three missionaries, Hendrik Marsveld, a Hollander¹⁷²) and the beloved Bishop Hallbeck, who was a Swede by birth.)

emphasis was laid on the practical training of these men. thus Künnel, manufactured the famous Genadendal knives,¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁴

) Near. 3. 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai 1821 1d21.

¹⁶⁵

y P. Accs. Exs P Accs. Journal Bklf. May 1803 - Nov., 1804

¹⁵⁶

) Miss. Reg. Jan., 1822: Hallbeck, 23rd Jan., 1821.

¹⁶³

P. Aces. No, 13. 1893: Visitation of Br. Buchner.

¹⁶³

) e.g. Nchr. 2. 1853: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1851; *ibid.*, 1. 1880: 3er. G., Jul.- Ti., 189,6.

¹⁶⁹ CCLXI

P. Accs. CCLXI 1863: Description of G. by Rev. J. Murray.

¹⁷⁰

) *ibid.*, 14o. 13. 1893: Visitation by r. Buchner.

¹⁷¹

y A. Aces. and Nchr. *passim*.

¹⁷²

) Schneider, G., p. 40.

¹⁷³

) Schneider, Hans Peter Hallbeck. 1925. *Passim*.

¹⁷⁴

y early Anne Barnard, p. 185-6.

beinbrecht supervised the erection of the bridge over the
 Sonderend,¹⁷⁵) and was an expert on rills and
 steamengines. ea 1862 there was one 'studierter
 at Genadendal.¹⁷⁷) The theologians too, were simple,
 diligent men. Hallbeck was described as:

...a plain, simple-hearted Christian, who
 visited the sick, and took his turn in the
 school instructions of ten Hottentot youths..."

According to Schneider, Schwinn's wife was unable to sign 179
 her name on her passport, the only case of illiteracy known.
 From 1848 to 1869 a medical missionary Brother Roser, was
 stationed at Genadendal. He was a fully qualified doctor.
 After Roser had left a missionary who had taken a short
 course in medicine was responsible for the health of the
 community. it was the policy of the Mission Board to have 180
 a man capable of caring for the health of the community.)
 Missionary family life was very much the same

for unmarried missionaries 181
 x they should marry.)
 his practice was kept up until as late as 1802.

"A friend the storekeeper married without Navin
 ever beheld his wife before they met at the al-
 tar, and came on board ship at once with her. he
 said it was as good a way of marrying as any 182
 other, and that they were happy together." >

The Children of such unions, were educated for the first
 few years in one infant school at Genadendal. After that
 they were sent to Europe where many were trained as mission-
 aries 183)

missionaries met at meal time and talked over the
 affairs of the day. the description of these common tales,
 as given by Latrobe in the beginning of the century 4)
 resembles the accounts from the middle until the end of it.

J. Murray says in 1863:

¹⁷⁵

175) Nchr. 1. 1825: Ber. 3., Apr. - Dec., 1823.

) ibid., 9. 1865: Ber. G Jan - Jun., 1864.

¹⁷⁷) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 136.

¹⁷⁸a) J. Backhouse, p. 58.

¹⁷⁹) H.G. Schneider, G. p. 150-1.

10) Lae. Schmidt, Broederkerk, p. 17; e. Aces.

1847: Kölbing, G., 7th 1.4, y, 1347; ibid., CCXXXI 1856: Roser,
 G. 13th Jet., 1355.

¹⁸¹) exs. z. Aces. reports May 1800.

¹⁸²) Lady Duff (Gordon, p. 106.

¹⁸³, P. Aces. CCXLIV 1859: C.R. Kölbing, 19th May, 1859.

14) Latrobe, D. 92-93.

"About eight of thee reside here with their families, and have in several respects a combined house-keeping. ...they assemble L. ticle a day at a common table in a large test plain dining-roots, on the walls of which hang portraits of Zinzendorf, Schmidt, and other members of the Brethren's Church...)

• And Jacob gives the following description in 1896:

"There are at present sever missionaries now residing at this station, all married... Each

life: but for the two most important semis of the day - dinner at 12 and supper at 6:50 - all meet in the large dining-hall, here they also resemble at 2 o'clock for coffee, when they have a short respite in their busy life and belief opportunity for social intercourse...)

The work of the missionaries was divided in the following manner:
 Each Brother has his

allotted share in the work of preaching the gospel, the care of souls, and school-teaching. Besides this, each takes his part in the secular labour by which the expen-ses of the mission are met. There is a corn-mill which still bring in a little also a smithy, a carpenter shop a drugstore, L printing-officeThirty

years later, conditions had not changed:

"In addition to the direct spiritual portion of the work and the charge of his own district, each of tee brethren is reponsible foe some special department which meets the needs of the col-on - the general store, the mill, the printing-office, the gardens, &c., and the sisters, in addition to the ties of household and family, have each their special ministry Jr. the community.")

All tee missionaries were very much attached to *their* home congregations in Europe. Great events in their lives were Brethren passing through and the European post.¹⁸⁹⁾

The attitude of these missionaries towards the Hottentots and the Coloureds was not over-idealistic. they were rear to admit that the Hottentots had faults but the believed that they were not inherent faults. When they were asked to give their opinion on measurer restricting the freedom of the Hottentots, trey opposed them frankly. But with wise restraints they did not give violent expression to their

¹⁸⁵⁾ P. Accs. CCLXI 1663: Description of Genadendal by he,,
 • Murray.

¹⁸⁶⁾ *ibid.*, No. 27. 1696. A Moravian Settlement - by E. Jacob.

¹⁸⁷⁾ *ibid.*, as for note 185)

¹⁸⁸⁾ *ibid.*, (as for note 166)

¹⁶⁹⁾ ExHallbeckes. Journal .6k1±. 1795; Miss. Reg. April 1821: G., to Latrobe, Sept., 1C20.

view. Hallbeck, for instance, objected to the vagrancy law of 1834 when the civil Commissioner asked him for his opinion. He argued that it not only harmed the Hottentots, but by restricting their movement it caused the farmers inconvenience. Hallbeck believed that the law was unnecessary, especially if the policing of towns was improved and the control of wine shops made more strict.¹⁹⁰) Hallbeck was convinced that the Hottentots were capable of improvement. When they had completed the bridge over the Sonderend, he was overjoyed

"The people have on this occasion, shown a willingness and perseverance, unprecedented in the history of the Hottentots at Nation. The building of a Bridge particularly as a private undertaking, and an undertaking of the Hottentots, is such all unknown in this Colony, that it is talked of with astonishment from Cape Town to Grahamstown; and will, I trust, silence those, who accuse the Hottentots of incorrigible sloth and stupidity."¹⁹¹)

Hallbeck was also of the opinion that the school-children of Genadendal had the same ability as those in an English

"I think they are just like children in every part of the world, as far as can be judged. There are some of very good capacity some bad."¹⁹²)

Hallbeck, a contemporary of Dr. Wile, was not alone in his championship of the Coloureds. The missionaries at the end of the century were as sympathetic towards the Coloureds. In 1892 the characteristics of the position of the farmers who despise the Coloureds and predict tension between the lower and upper classes within the Cape Colony as they were then developing in Europe.¹⁹³

The close relations between the missionaries and their spiritual charges led to a certain amount of social intercourse. Coloureds served as servants in the European families. Moreover when the missionaries fell ill the Hottentots skilled in the art of healing were called in. Hottentot midwives would take care of the European childbirth.¹⁹⁴) Hallbeck and his wife were prepared to adopt

190) See also Accs Hallbeck, 9th Jul., 1804; Theal, History of the Cape Colony. 1905. Vol. 1. p. 332.

191) is: .Reg. . Jan., Hallbeck, 11th April, 1820.

192) Select Committee, Aborigine Evidence, Hallbeck, 1836.

193) 1901; 4. 1394; Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1892.

194) 1824; Nchr. Mârs itc. Letter from Hallbeck, 28th Jul. 1881.

a Coloured child whose stepmother was neglecting her and who had been handed over to the care of the congregation.¹⁹⁵⁾ The main reason why there were no intermarriage between European missionaries and Coloured (native) church members, probably lay in the fact that the Mission Board sent very few unmarried men and supplied single missionaries with wives.

This sympathetic attitude of the Brethren earned the gratitude of the Hottentots. Their reverence for the missionaries, was not impaired by the fact that these missionaries obeyed the government strictly and did not actively oppose restrictive legislation directed against their charges.¹⁹⁶⁾ When Father Harsveld fell sick in 1820 they

in 1882 everyone in Genadendal attended his funeral.¹⁹⁷⁾

were the men and women who infused into the settlement at Genadendal a Christian attitude to life. Hallbeck was so erect in maintaining that; such an institution could not exist without "...a spirit of Brotherly Love or Charity."¹⁹⁸⁾

¹⁹⁵⁾ Nchr. 1. 1343: Ber G., 1840.

) Vol XXXV, p. 332.

¹⁹⁷⁾ Use. Rcg April 1621: Hallbeck to Latrobe, Jul. - Lu6. et. Spt. 1820 to 11 Jul. 1. 1324. 2, el:'. G., Apr. - Dez. 1822.

¹⁹⁸⁾ CO 102 Answers to Queries Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

The Developement of the Administration of the
Genadendal Community

missionaries were not only in charge of spiritual matters. Until 1816 they were the only secular authorities. to understand what the missionaries, had to cope with in this respect, one must be acquainted with the number of inhabitants in Genadendal. Ate first estimate of the total number was Oven in the year 1798. The missionaries reckoned that there were cleat 700 people 'ender instruction.¹¹) probably this is ant. underestimate, because in 1799 in an official report on the numbers at Genadendal they state that there are 252 men,² 521 women, and 661 children, i.e., 1234 souls are listed.) After 1803 a decrease set in, because a hundred men were recruited for the Cape Regiment 3.) In 18u7 only 747 persons lived at Genadendal. From 1807 onwards, these was a steady increase to the highest total number which as reached in 1860. There were two fluctuations in this population trend. The bad harvests between 1822 and 1826 retarded the increase. The influx of the slaves after 1836 accelerated it. it December 1838 202 persons ,sere permitted to live at Genadendal,) and in. 1839 a further 430 receive; permission.⁵)

.hi le in 1860 the number of inhabitants Lae reached 3,521, it was reduced to 2,496 in 1870. arum this year onward, however, there was a gradual increase again until in the eighties the number remained static just slightly below three thousand. The figures given in the accounts are not quite accurate, for two reasons: firstly, members of the congregation who tad left the station mere only struck from tee books after a number of years,⁶) and secondly, the missionaries probably often included the men Rho were working outside Genadendal. A census taken in April, 1825 daring the ploughing season, for instance, shows only 922 people, whereas the total number at the end of 1824 had been 1,242.⁷) In 1875 only 2,344 inhabitants were actually counted to be

1) Appendix B for this discussion.

2) P. Aces. Journal Bklf. Jul., 1799 – Jan., 1800.

3) theal, Records, vi. p. 347.

4) Nchr . 5. 1840: Bee. a., 1838.

5) ibid., 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839.

6) ibid., 2. 1844: Ber. 4., 1841.

7) ibid., 1. 1828: Ber. G., 1325.

at Genadendal, but at the end of the year the number was given as 2,726.)

It is more difficult to gain an insight into the racial composition of the population. The basic stock was probably Hottentot, but with accretions from other races. Lichtenstein maintained that the baptised were all 'bastards' ⁹) An early settler at Genadendal whose recollections were included in the accounts for 1851, claimed that her father was a European.¹⁰) then Lady Duff Gordon visited the settlement in the 1860ies, she met the last 'pure' Hottentot who was estimated to be 107 years old. ¹¹)

, any persons who entered the station, and were referred to as 'Hottentots' by the missionaries, were actually half-castes. There were a considerable number of Hottentot women who had illegitimate children by European fathers. Already in 1797 the missionaries complained about the immorality between the Genadendal girls and the dragoons who were posted at Zoetemelksvallei to protect the mission station. ¹²) In 1866 and 1870 the missionaries reported that irresponsible Europeans created disturbances in Genadendal by bringing wine into the village and having dances with inhabitants. ¹³) Two Europeans actually resided in the village and were members of the congregation, ¹⁴) while a third lived with a Coloured girl in irregular marriage and caused the missionaries serious concern.¹⁵)

From 1809 onwards there was also a Bantu element in the population. These 'Caffres' had been ordered out of the Colony by the government. Those who were permitted to stay had to reside at a mission station.) In 1810 one of the first Caffre women, the daughter of a 'captain' was baptized. ¹⁷

^b) Nchr., 1875, 3 Heft: Ber. C., Jan. - Jun., 1875.

⁹) H. Richtenstein, Vol. p. 253.

¹⁰) acts. 1851: recollections of old Hottentot Sister Beetje Robyntje.

¹¹) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 103-4.

¹²) Exs. P. Acts. Journal Bk1f. 1797.

¹³) Nchr. 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866; *ibid.*, 10. 1871: Her. G., 1370.

) *ibid.*, 1. 1850: Ber. G., 1848; *ibid.*, 1. 1855: Ber. G., Spt. Dez., 1853.

¹⁵) *ibid.*, 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

¹⁶) P. Aces. LVIII Diary G., Jan. - Spt., 1809.

) *ibid.*, IX Diary G., 1810.

Always. A few years later Latrobe visited the "Caffre-Kraal" beyond the **River** = Ica was inhabited largely by converted Bantu. One of the baptized women tried to persuade him to establish a mission in 'Caffre-Land' .18)

second largest racial group was formed by the descendants of the slaves. They were mostly of Bantu and Negroid descent.) In 1848 the ratio of Hottentots to emancipated slave; was estimated to be two to one.¹⁹⁾

A graphic description of the external appearance of the Coloured at Genadendal is given by Lady Duff Gordon in 1862: "the Hottentots, as they are called - that is, those of mixed Dutch and Hottentot origin (correctly, 'bastaards') - have a sort of blackguard elegance in their gait and figure which is peculiar to them; a mixture of Negro or Mozambique blood alters it altogether. the girls have the elegance without the blackguard look; a slender, most are tall; elegant all have good hands and feet; some few are handsome in the face and many very interesting-looking. The complexion is a pale olive-yellow, and the hair more or less woolly, face flat and cheekbones high, eyes small and bright. These are far the most intelligent - equal, indeed, to whites. A mixture of black blood often gives real beauty, but takes off from the 'air', and generally from the talent; but then the blacks are so pleasant, and the Hottentots are taciturn and reserved. The old women of this breed are the earliest hags ever saw; they are clean and well dressed, and tie up their old faces in white handkerchiefs like corpses, ... they are)

It was the general practice in all the settlements of the United Brethren to have a set of rules and regulations determining both the spiritual and temporal conduct of the community.²²⁾ The Genadendal code of rules is first mentioned in the accounts in 1803. Discharged Hottentot soldiers had to agree to it before they were permitted to reside in the village.²³⁾ In 1809 communicants were debarred from partaking of holy Communion when they transgressed the regulations relating to the purchase of alcohol by village-

18 C.I. Latrobe, pp. 94-97.

¹⁹⁾ Neer. 1. 1849: Überblick über das Missionenwerk der Brüdergemeine. 1836-48.

²⁰⁾ 5990 ecclesiastical return for leer ended 31st Dec., 1848.

²¹⁾ Lady Duff Gordon, p. 105-6.

²²⁾ C.I. Latrobe, pp. 390.

²³⁾ 1. Aces. Diary Bklf. bay, 1803 - Nov., 1804.

ere.²⁴) When Latrobe visited Genadendal he was requested to revise them in the light of comments received from the Missionaries and the rules in force in European settlements of the Unitas Fratrum.²⁵)

these 'codified' rules of 1816 formed the basis of the revised Rules and Regulations of 1827 which were the work of Hallbeck and the missionaries, with, the help of the 'opzieners' and chapel-servants. After they had been read out to and approved of by the assembled men of the settlement a Dutch and an English copy were sent to Governor Bourke, who strongly approved of them.²⁵)

When in 1858 the Superintendent received the title which granted the Genadendal lands to him in trust for the Hottentots,²⁷) he also received the new regulations revised by the government. These regulations of 1858 embodied three chapters of the revised Rules and Regulations of 1827. A fourth chapter was added which provided firstly, that the civil administration of Genadendal should be strictly separated from the administration of the congregation, and secondly that the number of inhabitants should be limited to three thousand.²⁸)

It was expressly stipulated in these Rules and Regulations of the Genadendal Institute that they did not supplant the laws of the Cape Colony. In the case of a crime against the laws of the Colony the culprit was to be handed over to the colonial authorities.

The first section - appearing in the 1827 document under the heading "Of Christian Doctrine, Religion and general Moral and Social Duties" - deals with relations of dogma and Genadendal relations to other denominations. It is stated that the congregation at Genadendal feels itself a part of the church of the United Brethren, and that therefore, the Bible is the basis of teaching and conduct. Sunday should be kept as a day of rest and worship. Only teachers approved of by the directory of the United Brethren could be accepted. As regards moral conduct the emphasis is laid

PA.) P. Aces. LVIII Diary G., Jan. - Sept., 1809..

25) C.1. Latrobe, p. 390.

26) Nchr. 5. 1829: Ber. G., 182V4 CO 677 Colonial Office, 16th Mch., 1827 to Hallbeck.

27) P. Aces. vol 1858: Kölbings v., 15th May, 1858, Roser G., 17th Apr. 1858.

28) Appendix A for this discussion; c0 till Surveyor General to Civil Commissioner Mackay 28th Jul., 1851.

on strict honesty and on diligence. The members are reminded, however that the goods of this earth are transitory. In general a high standard of moral conduct was expected.

marriage is an institution ordained by God. A violation of the rules of Christian marriage must be punished by exclusion from congregation and institution. It is laid down how Christians and heathen residents can be legally married. Lastly, the duty of parents to provide their children with a Christian education is enunciated.

The second section - headed in the original of 1827 "Of outward Order and regularity of the institution" - lays down that every inhabitant of Genadendal shall have a fixed place of abode, especially young unmarried persons. It stipulates that houses should be well built and kept in good repair. It gives a missionary the right of inspection and builders are bound to obey his instructions when erecting new houses or altering old ones. 'Opzieners' are entrusted with the duty of allotting garden and arable land and are made responsible for seeing that such land is used properly. When it is not effectively cultivated it can be confiscated and given to more deserving persons. Disputes over gardens and arable land have to be brought before the 'inspector of gardens.' The conditions under which land in Genadendal was held by inhabitants is defined. The main condition being that such land is only held under the rules of the Institution and therefore, cannot be sold or bequeathed to persons outside the settlement. The owner of a house and a garden was, however, entitled to sell or bequeath his property to another resident on condition that he gave due notice to the superintendent of the institution. Also, the owner could forfeit his rights by prolonged absence, unless he delegated a tenable person to take care of his plot. Then follow regulations concerning stock and rules for the impounding of straying cattle. Such disputes as arise out of damage done by stock and over ownership of land should be brought in the first instance to the 'Opzieners' or missionaries, although nothing is in the way of taking complaints to a magistrate. So preserve public morality it was laid down that residents could not have strangers overnight unless permission had first been obtained from the missionaries or from certain 'opzieners'. Further, residents were expected to observe a curfew after the evening service. 'Young people were to be under supervision as much as possible; they were not allowed to participate in recreation likely to lead them into sin. Wine could be brought into the village in small

quantities and for" immediate use only. It was prohibited to sell drink in the settlement. The residents were expected to hold themselves available for work necessary for the commonweal, such as repairing roads and the church, and to see that they kept the roads in front of their plots in an orderly state and that the drinking water was not polluted. The community took care of the sick and infirm and, therefore, the inhabitants were enjoined not to forget the poor box. It was also defined how a person might enter the institution. A thorough inquiry into his previous life was made. If this was satisfactory and he was prepared to abide by the regulations, he was permitted to reside in the settlement on probation. Persons born in the village, had to promise to obey the rules when they were accepted into the congregation. Finally it was laid down, that any person who habitually violated these rules lost the right to reside in the settlement.

The aim of this section then, was to preserve a high standard of public morality and to outline ways of settling disputes peacefully.

The third section - which deals with "Suprintendence of the Institution," - is of a different nature. It establishes the authoritative body which was charged with enforcing the rules, the 'Opziener konferensie.' The basis on which every individual was expected to comply with these rules was that they were agreed to by the residents and were not laws imposed by the Missionaries. It is difficult to say in how far this basic assumption was acted upon. In practice the residents in assembly agreed to the rules and regulations which had been drawn up by the missionaries. What the latter insisted on was that the inhabitants knew the rules. 'New people' had to understand and agree to abide by the rules before they were admitted. Persons born in Genadendal were told what the rules of the community were when they were received into the congregation. Besides, the Rules and Regulations were read to the assembled congregation at regular

intervals.²⁹ The final chapter added in 11.57 by the government aimed at separating the civil administration from that of the congregation and giving the government a greater say in the application of the Rules and regulations. The reasons for this step were two. It was felt that a further increase in the

²⁹ (30 611 Rules and Regulations of the Institution at Genadendal, Revised 1827. ..mark in the margin by Teutsch.

population of Genadendal would be undesirable and that therefore, the government should be able to control it. Secondly, there had been complaints about the civil administration of Genadendal by some residents.³⁰⁾ The government wished to safeguard the civic right of the inhabitants. The expulsion of the natives was to be decided, wide contingent on the consent of the magistrate. The right to vote in civic matters was defined in terms of property. The government reserved to itself the right to amend the Rules and regulations on the application of the missionaries and four-fifths of the eligible voters. Finally, the right of every resident to take stock found on his land to the pound was reaffirmed.

When the legality of the 1858 Rules and regulations were challenged soon afterwards they were held to be invalid in the supreme court on the grounds that they were not parliamentary laws.³¹⁾ To place the administration of Genadendal on a legal basis it was found necessary to have a special mission station act. This act was passed in 1909 and was accepted in Genadendal only in 1926.³²⁾ One of the main reasons for, or perhaps the most important reason for the invalidity of the rules and regulations was the fact that the land on which the institution stood had been granted in trust. It was not private property as for instance the Moravian station at Elim.³³⁾

Residents of Genadendal participated in the administration of the village from the beginning. There are references to the employment of Hottentot 'captains' in the accounts before 1816.³⁴⁾ These captains were invested with some authority direct from government. The first of them possessed a staff of authority.³⁵⁾ In the early days the captains were responsible for maintaining law and order at Genadendal. They assisted in the collection of taxes and in securing

³⁰⁾ e2. 511 Memorial of John Jass, Loses Fourie, Margie Janzen and Piet Abraham to Governor Sir Harry Smith, 19th Spt., 1850.

³¹⁾ *Nederl. G.*, 9. 1865: *Ber. G.*, Jan. - Jun., 1865; *ibid.*, 6. 1866: *r. G.*, Jul.-Dez., 1865; *ibid.*, 4. 1850: *tier. G.*, Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858; *P. Accs.* no. 27, 1896: Jottings from the Western province.

³²⁾ 16.e.. Schmidt, *Die Plaaslike Beethuur van Baviaanskloof Genadendal, 1792-1926.* (Manuscript)

³³⁾ *r. Accs.* No. 32. 1857: The 'grant stations' and their importance for the natives, by Br. Rennig.

³⁴⁾ *r. Accs.* Journal *Bklf.* Jan., 1799 *ibid.*, Journal *Bklf.* 1801.

³⁵⁾ *P. Accs.* LVIII Diary *G.*, Jan. - Spt., 1809.

deserters.³⁶⁾ The government was satisfied with this system of administration. Landdrost Rhyneveld, in 1802, praised the obedience of the Hottentots and pointed out that for a thousand people at Baviaanskloof no Justice of Peace was necessary, whereas ordinarily a Justice of Peace had enough to do among three hundred people.³⁷⁾ Later this rule by traditional tribal authorities was supplemented by that of the Kerkraad which acquired a number of temporal duties in addition to its church duties.³⁸⁾ But rivalry between various factions and clannish loyalties were not unknown among the leading residents at the time of Latrobe's visit and caused the missionaries a certain amount of trouble.³⁹⁾

this was one of the reasons why it was decided to institute the office of 'opziener'. The main reason, however, was the fact that Genadendal had increased in size. It was no longer possible for the missionaries alone to keep a watchful eye over the community. When, therefore, the chapel-servants proposed in 1816, that a number of respected persons should be appointed to assist the missionaries, the proposal was adopted. In May, 1816 32 overseers met for the first time, with the approval of the Landdrost at Cape Town.⁴⁰⁾ The 'opzieners' at first worked side by side with the 'captains'. Koopman, who had been the captain in Latrobe's time,⁴¹⁾ became chief overseer in the village and received a daily stipend of two shillings from the government, until his death in 1842. His duties as a chief are nowhere defined.⁴²⁾

In the beginning the overseers were appointed by the missionaries.⁴³⁾ When the Mores and Regulations were revised in 1827 a system of election was included. The qualification for a voter was twofold: the possession of a house and garden and the status of a communicant. Only communicants with 'walled houses' could be elected as overseers. Overseers were not elected regularly but only when a post fell vacant.⁴⁴⁾

36) C.I. Latrobe, pp. 154-57.

37) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Jan. - Feb., 1802.

38) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. 1799.

39) C.I. Latrobe, pp. 154-57, 402-3, 405-6.

40) *ibid.*, pp. 387-88, 389-90.

41) *ibid.*, pp. 402-6.

42) Nchr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

43) *ibid.* Latrobe, pp. 389-90.

44) Appendix A: eh. 111, 13 & 14: Nchr. 1. 1848: Ber. G. 1845.

Under the 1358 rules and regulations a further qualification was added viz., that only a person who owned a house and garden worth 45 could vote.⁴⁵⁾

body of overseers, consisting in 1827 of 18 members and in 1858 of 25 members, together with the chapel-servants, of whom there were 14 in 1827 and 18 in 1856, and the missionaries formed the 'Overseers Conference'.¹ It met at least once a month. It was the duty of the conference to settle disputes. The missionaries were looked upon as a kind of executive and, dealt with unimportant matters between meetings. Reports of actions taken had to be made to the conference, however, and important matters had, to be laid before it.⁴⁶⁾

The duties of the overseers were those of maintaining order in the settlement. They were not entitled to make bye-laws for the settlement. They had powers to settle minor disputes. It was their special duty to see that strangers did not enter the settlement. Persons expelled from or permitted to enter Genadendal were informed of this decision in the presence of the 'opzieners' and never without their

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A monthly conference of the overseers was instituted in 1826 at the request of the chapel-servants and overseers themselves. In 1827 it was included in the Rules and Regulations.⁴⁸⁻⁾ This body conducted the administration of Genadendal for a century.⁴⁹⁾

When overseers could only remain in office 'during good behaviour'. When, on account of irregularities, an overseer was publicly excluded from the congregation he was automatically dismissed from the Conference.⁵⁰⁾ He could be re-elected if he repented.⁵¹⁾ As the missionaries decided who was to be excluded they exercised some control over the composition of the conference. The missionaries apparently never used this power inequitably.

There were two forms of punishment, exclusion from the

45) Appendix A, IV, 2.

46) *ibid.*, III, 2, 9-12.

47) *ibid.*, III, 4, 11.

48) Nchr. 2. 1628: ber. g., an. Marz, 1826; *ibid.*, 5. 1629: leer. 4., 1027.

49) R. Schmidt, Die Plaaslike Bestuur.

50) e.g. Nchr. 5. 1640: ber. G. 1838.

51) Appendix A, III, 15; *ichr.* 4. 1890; Ber., G., Jul. - Dez., 1688.

congregation and expulsion from the place.⁵²) The Rules and regulations reserved to the missionaries the right to administer church discipline.⁵³) exclusion was the most important means of maintaining discipline and public morality. It was remarkably effective, particularly until hallbeck's death,⁵⁴) but even in 1857 Suhl comments on the respect shown for this form of correction. The names of those publicly excluded were read out to the congregation about eight times a year.⁵⁵) The reasons for exclusion could be religious,⁵⁶) but in most cases the reason was drunkenness or immorality.⁵⁷)

The missionaries' powers of expulsion were at first practically unlimited and the Veldcornets helped them to eject recalcitrants.⁵⁸) When, in 1816, the 'opzieners' were appointed, they were immediately consulted as to the readmission of a repentant expellee. Against the expectations of the missionaries they advocated his readmission.⁵⁹) The principle that the overseers conference should have advisory powers in matters of expulsion or admission was, therefore, already present in Latrobe's time.⁶⁰) If a person continually broke rules and if he seduced other residents to succumb to vice, he was expelled.⁶¹) Only 54 persons were expelled from the village during the first twenty-five years of its existence.⁶²)

Towards the middle of the Nineteenth Century, however, these two forms of punishment grew less effective and more difficult to apply. The number of persons excluded from the

52) There is no evidence that the 'opzieners' at Genadendal could award punishment and inflict 'stripes upon the back with a rod of quince,' although it may have been the case. Wheal, records, Vol. xxxv, p. 331.

53) Appendix A: Ch. III, 5.

54) J. Backhouse, p. 98.

55) P. Aces. CCXXXVII, 1857: D.W. Suhl, G., 3rd April., 185V

56) See Chapter III.

57) O.I. Latrobe, pp. 304, 398-402; Exs. P. Aces. Hallbeck, 29th Aug., 1835; P. Aces. LXI, Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810; ibid., LXV, Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1812; Nchr. 5. 1840: Ber. G., 1838.

58) C I Latrobe, p. 384.

59) ibid., pp. 398-402.

60) Appendix A, III, 11.

61) C.I. Latrobe, p. 384; Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf., May, 1803 - Nov., 1804.

62)

) Nchr. 2. 1819: Ber. G., 1818.

congregation every year increased, especially after 1850.⁶³) Some of the excluded became a centre of opposition to the missionaries.⁶⁴) it had become difficult for the missionaries to expell troublemakers after the 1856 revision of the rules and regulations, as they made an expulsion order from a magistrate compulsory, but this power of the magistrate was not upheld in the Supreme Court which virtually made ejection impossible.⁶⁵) In 1848 already, the relations of an expelled person often kept him at Genadendal, thus negating the effect of expulsion.)

There were thus minority groups within the settlement, who opposed the accepted form of administration of the community. The main reasons for opposition to the missionaries were two. The less serious but widespread form of antagonism was the refusal of residents to pay the fees levied by the Overseers Conference,⁶⁷ although these had been approved of in a public assembly.) In 1848 the residents refused to pay true fee for the herdboy.⁶⁸) In 1878 the missionaries complained that the Genadendalers were unwilling to pay their school and congregation fees.⁶⁹)

The more serious, though not, so general, form of opposition was motivated by the desire for land and for security of tenure. The first manifestation of this was in 1850 when four Coloureds from Genadendal, who had been promised land as a reward for the services during the 1835 frontier wars,⁷⁰) petitioned against an alleged encroachment by neighbouring farmers.⁷¹) The claim was pronounced unfounded by the civil Commissioner and Surveyor General, who had been sent to investigate.⁷²) A letter from Teutsch, the Superintendent, shows that this petition was presented to the Governor against the will of the missionaries.") In 1858 some few residents

53) Appendix B.

64) P. Accs. CCXV 1852: C.R. Kolbing G., 22nd kWh., 1()52.

65) Appendix A, IV, 6; Nchr. 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

66) Nchr. 1. 1850: Bei', G., 1848.

57) Nchr. 6. 1E536: Bar. G., 1834 .

Yiid. ,
1844.

2. 1847: Ber.

69) *ibid.*, 6. 1879: Ber. - Jim., 1878.

70) *ibid.*, 2. 1839: Ber. G., 1836.

71) CO 611 is of our Hottentots to Governor Sir Harry Smith, 26th Sept., 1850.

72) Accs. CCX 1851: C.L. Teutsch, 23rd & 5th Oct., 1850.

73) CO 611v.L. Teutsch to Civil Commissioner Mackay, 22nd Oct., 1850.

caused trouble by attempting to obtain the status of a municipality for Genadendal. he were allowed to call a meeting for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes of the inhabitants, but suffered an overwhelming defeat.') This, if successful, would have been tantamount to terminating the civil authority of the missionaries. In 1863 a petition was signed even by some of the overseers and chapel-servants, although it had been expressly decided by them conference that the should not sign p^etitions to the government affecting the administration of the place. The cause for complain was the refusal of the missionaries to purchase a heavily mortgaged house for the congregation. As a result some of the chapel-servants and overseers were dismissed. The missionaries now felt that the reason for the growing opposition was the fact that they exercised supreme civil authority in the settlement and this was injurious to their spiritual work.⁷⁵⁾ After 1892 another incident occurred and the motive was again the desire for more land.⁷⁶⁾

it is thus obvious that internal opposition was growing and that, although the missionaries were still capable of enforcing their authority, the legal weakness of the system should have been remedied long ago. This weakness lay in the fact that Genadendal was not the property of the mission of the Unitas Fratrum but a 'grant station' to be held in trust by the Superintendent of the mission in South Africa.⁷⁷⁾

⁷⁴⁾ Mchr. 4. 1860: Ber. Berea, Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858.

⁷⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1864: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1863.

⁷⁶⁾ P. Accs. No. 71, 1907: Report on Mission Fields, South Africa, Western Province.

⁷⁷⁾ P. Accs. No. 32, 897: The 'grant stations' Br. Hennig.

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Land Teneer and relations with the Government.

As Genadendal was a 'grant station' and had not been purchased by the mission the government could interfere more easily in its administration than in a station. Such as Slim¹ that had been purchased by the mission.) There were four other spheres of contact between the community and the government. Government supervised the administration of the place. It employed residents as soldiers and otherwise. It influenced the community by promoting and sometimes obstructing the work of the missionaries. The Coloured inhabitants played a part in the internal political development of the Colony.

The initial grant of Genadendal was made in a resolution of the Council of acting on orders from the Council of Seventeen.²) By the resolution of the 19th

December, 1792, the missionaries were permitted to proceed to Baviaanskloof, to perform missionary work, to gather a congregation and to administer the Sacraments. The Landdrost of Stellenbosch was asked to inform his Veldcornets that the missionaries should enjoy their protection. Teunissen, the commander of the Company's post at Zoetemelkswaai, was to provide them with everything *they* needed.³) The missionaries would have preferred a more secure title, but when⁴ they applied for it to the government it was refused.)

The British authorities during the first occupation were prepared to give the missionaries a greater security of tenure. When the missionaries petitioned against encroachments by the neighbouring farmers,⁵) the government was willing to investigate the situation.⁶) The disputed land was resurveyed and some of it was returned to the institution.⁷)

1) k. Aces. No. 32, 1897: 'The 'grant stations' Br. Bennie.

2) CO 677: Memorial of United Brethren missionaries, 11th Feb., 1856, Annex A; Translated copy of resolution of Council of Seventeen, 3rd Dec., 1791.

³) *ibid.*, Annex B translated copy: extract Resolution in "Raad van Politie", Cape Town, 19th Dec., 1792.

⁴) rapers relative to natives, 1835: Brief Sketch, 1823.

⁵) BO 34: petition against encroachment by Philip Morkel and. Barend Guildenhuysen, by Loravians, 12th Jan., 1799.

⁶) b3 34: Lands Office to Revenue office, 17th Feb., 1802; Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1801; *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Jan. - Feb., 1802.

⁷) Exs. P. Aces. Journal bklf. ch. - Spt., 1802.

Under the rule of the Batavian Republic (1803-1806) no change of policy was recorded. Under the Second British Occupation difficulty arose about the erection of a church at Groenekloof on the grounds that the 'loan places' on which stations had been established did not belong to the missionaries. Latrobe then wrote to Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, asking him to secure the land to the mission.⁸⁾ Lord Bathurst instructed Cradock in 1813 as follows:

"I am sure therefore that I am only anticipating your own wishes in conveying to **you** the Instructions of His Majesty's Government to give every facility in answer to the fulfilment of Mr. Latrobe's request, and to secure to the establishment for the use of its congregations either by grant or otherwise as you may deem most advisable, both at Groenekloof and Genadendal, such portion of and as the establishment may appear to you to require.")

At the same time Bathurst informed Latrobe that formal grants of the land occupied by the missionaries would be made to "secure them from ejectment or disturbance in future."¹⁰⁾

Before Cradock had received these instructions, Theal had already acceded to a request by the Moravians for a new 'loan place' at Genadendal.¹¹⁾ as the Landdrost could find no suitable loan place, the neighbouring farmers were made to cede the necessary land to the institution. By way of compensation they received double the area of land they had ceded to the missionaries elsewhere.¹²⁾ the thus enlarged area was resurveyed¹³⁾ and the survey fee was paid by the missionaries) A diagram of the land thus set apart for the use of **the Hottentots** was sent to the missionaries.¹⁵⁾

Cradock did not grant a full title to the missionaries because he felt it would develop into a species of mortmain.

This would have eliminated the possibility of residents appealing to the government.¹⁶⁾

⁸⁾ Theal, records, ix pp. 259-262.

⁹⁾ *ibid.*, ix, pp. 273-4.

¹⁰⁾ 611 copy: Downing Street to C.I. Latrobe, 23rd Dec., 1811

¹¹⁾ records, ix, pp. 191-2, 199-200.

¹²⁾ *ibid.*, ix, pp. 412-3, 458-9; x, pp. 179-80, 193, 198-9, 200-1.

¹³⁾ *ibid.*, x, pp. 179-60.

¹⁴⁾ UO 677 Memorial of United Brethren Missionaries, 11th

Feb., 1856: Annex D: secretary of Swellendam District to Mister, 3rd Jun., 1814.

¹⁵⁾ Theal records, x, p. 246; CO 611 Copy: Landdrost to missionaries at G., 5th Mch., 1815.

¹⁶⁾ Theal, records, ix, pp. 461-2; x, pp. 328-32.

in 1850 four dissatisfied Hottentots presented a petition to Sir Harry Smith including a plea for the granting of a regular title for the lands of Genadendal.¹⁷⁾ The investigation which was set on foot then re-opened the question of the mission society's title to Genadendal.¹⁸⁾ The official investigation viz., the Surveyor General and the civil commissioner at Caledon, recommended that the lands at Genadendal be granted on a nominal quitrent to the Superintendent of the mission in trust for the Hottentots. Missionaries were to remain in full possession of the buildings necessary for the running of the institution, and to retain the right to water and good and such other rights as they had hitherto possessed. The Commission envisaged the early granting of a municipality to Genadendal, when these rights of the missionaries were to be reserved.¹⁹⁾ Both commissioners had been in favour of granting title deeds to the individual plot holders, but realised this to be impossible because of the confusion of rights to land at Genadendal.²⁰⁾

Title was not granted to the Oravians then but only after repeated appeals by the missionaries.²¹⁾ The issue was complicated by the discovery of an error in the survey of 1815 which excluded most of the oldest buildings from the title-grant. Fortunately the Surveyor General did not object to including this in a correct survey.²²⁾ Title was eventually granted and received by the missionaries in 1858²³⁾ on the conditions which had been envisaged in 1850.²⁴⁾ The size of the area granted was entered as 5598 morgen.²⁵⁾

Simultaneously with the negotiations for the title to the Genadendal lands attempts were, as we have seen, made to introduce individual tenure. The 1850 commission found

17) CO 611 Memorial of J. Jass, P. Abrahams, M. Fourie, M. Jansen to Governor Sir H. Smith, 26th Sept., 1850.

18) Nchr. 1. 1852: Ber. G., Jul. Dez., 1850.

19) CO 611 Surveyor General to Colonial Office, 26th Sept. 1851.

20) CO 611 Civil Commissioner Mackay to Ch. Bell Surveyor General 6th Sept., 1851.

21) CO 677 Memorial of United Brethren Missionaries re Title, 11th Feb., 1856; C.R. K31bing to Colonial Secretary, 18th Nov., 1856; Memorial from Genadendal, 7th Jan., 1858 & K31bing, 16th Jan., 1858.

22) CO 694 K31bing to Colonial Secretary, 5th Dec. 1857; Memorial to Governor Grey from Superintendent, 5th Dec., 1857.

23) Nchr. 4. 1860: Bericht G., Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858.

24) CO 677 Draught Title, endorsed 20th October, 1857.

25) Nchr. 4. 1860: Ber., G., Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858.

that its introduction would have been very difficult. in 1854 a bill was introduced into parliament aimed at dividing the mission station lands into 'erven' to be given as freehold to the occupiers.⁶⁾ the missionaries at Genadendal drew up a petition which was supported by the majority of the inhabitants, who apparently realised the danger of such a development.²⁷⁾ In a letter to the select committee which considered the bill, Kölbing argued that the Coloureds would lose their lands if freehold titles were granted to them. The lauds at Genadendal were not capable of carrying the population living at the station. The reason why the inhabitants could subsist was that they worked for the farmers during the busy seasons. if land tenure were not specially safeguarded the Coloured occupiers would lose their plots and be dispersed. The granting of the 'erven' in freehold would cause an influx of low class

Europeans who would disrupt the morals of the Genadendal community. The existing racial feeling was not caused by the presence of institutions but by the fact that

"As long as the coloured classes are treated with contempt because they are coloured, ^{this feeling} of races will not die away.")

The bill was not accepted in parliament.²⁹⁾ A strong body of opinion outside Genadendal in favour of such a division of the lands until 1892 and later. It was Superintendent Hennig who then defended the 'clinging to the grants besides, there was a small party of residents in favour of individual title deeds.³¹⁾

In the beginning the colonial authorities expected the missionaries to police Genadendal 1831, for instance, they were instructed to ascertain whether there were any Hottentot deserters at Baviaanskloof.³³⁾ The authorities

26) Nchr. 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

27) CO 637 Petition of Genadendal householders against introduction of freehold at G., to Lt. - Gov., C.H. Darling, 2nd Aug., 1854.

28) Cape of Good Hope Appendix to Votes and Procedures of Parliament 1856: C.R. Kölbing to Select Committee, 15th Apr.

29) Nchr. 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

30) P. Accs. No. 32, 1897: The 'grant stations' Br. Hennig.

31) Nchr. 4. 1860: Ber. G., Nov., 1857 - Jul., 1858.

32) H.G. Schneider, G., p. 92.

33) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1801.

6.

were satisfied with their handling of problems of public order.³⁴) In cases when the missionaries were unable to enforce the authority of the government, officials were despatched to their aid, for instance, when a person resisted expulsion from the village.³⁵) The British authorities tried to give the 'captains' at Genadendal some policing authority but apparently to little effect³⁶)

in consequence it was the missionaries with the help of the 'opzieners' who apprehended suspected criminals. These were mainly stock thieves and runaway slaves,³⁷) but also more serious offenders)

Occasionally government officials enforced orders which applied to the settlement such as the order received by

Teunissen to limit the number of Hottentots and cattle at

Baviaanskloof.³⁸) Others commandeered residents to per-

form policing tasks, such as the recapture of runaway

slaves.⁴⁰) in 1849, the government appointed a constable

with powers to arrest offenders against the law. The first

constable as overseer recommended by the missionaries,⁴¹

but after four months a white constable was appointed.)

As the apprehension of criminals was now a responsibility of the civil authorities it is difficult to understand why farmers still accused the missionaries of being unco—operative in the tracking down of criminals.⁴²)

There does not seem to have been very much work for the constable because he was later made postmaster as well.") in 1857 a monthly court to be held by the magistrate from Caledon was instituted, but this found so little work that

34) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Jan. - Feb., 1802.

35) C.I. Latrobe, pp. 384, 398-402.

36) *ibid.*, pp. 402-3; Nchr. 1. 1826: Ber. G., 1824; *ibid.*, 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

37) e.g. Nchr. 6. 1819: Ber. G., Jan. - Spt., 1818; *ibid.*, 6. 1820: Ber. G., Okt. - Dez., 1818.

38) *ibid.*, 3. 1833: Ber. G., 1830.

39) BO 33 Instructions of Sluysken regarding Hottentots at Zoetemelks vallei, 10th Jan., 1795; Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1795.

40) P. Accs. 141: Diary G., 1810 Mch. - Jul.; Nchr. 3. 1823: Apr. - Spt., 1821.

41) Nchr. 3. 1851: Ber. G., 1849; *ibid.*,² 1854: Ber. G., 1852.

42) C. of G. H. Interrogation of Caledon farmers. 1856.

43) P. Accs. No. 27. 1896: A Moravian Settlement - E. Jacob.

was later only convened bimonthly .44)

At this stage it seems necessary to review in detail the development of government policy towards Genadendal. The three first missionaries were well received by the authorities of the Company at the Cape. they were advised to stay in Cape Town until Teunissen the commander of the

Company's post, Zoetemelksvallei, arrived. Teunissen was instructed to 'assist and advise them to the utmost of his power' and, as described above, did so in the beginning.⁴⁵) The Landdrost of Stellenbosch too was Instructed to protect and aid the missionaries and to order his veldcornets to do the same.⁴⁶) Thus the government of the company did much to assist the missionaries in the founding of Genadendal.

later the attitude of the government changed. This was a result of the difficult position of the last Company Governor Sluysken, who had to defend the cape against British attack hampered by revolts in the interior. Sluysken in deference to public opinion, prohibited the missionaries from ringing the bell and from erecting buildings,⁴⁷) The most serious interference was Sluysken's order to Teunissen

to prevent the overstocking of Baviaanskloof. This prohibited Hottentots from distant parts to bring all their cattle without the permission of their masters. Hottentots, who were not original residents had to return their cattle to where they had come from.) The enforcement of this order⁴⁸ caused

an estrangement between Teunissen and the three missionaries.

According to them Teunissen had bribed hottentots to testify

44) P. Accs. CCXXVII, 1857: D.W. Suhl, 3rd Apr., 1857; *ibid.*, No. 27. 1896: A Moravian Settlement - E. Jacob.

45) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

46) GO 677 Memorial of United Brethren Missionaries, 11th Feb., 1856, Annex B: Extract of Resolution in "Raad van Politie", 19th Dec., 1792.

47) J.T. Hamilton, A History of the Missions of the Moravian Church. 1901. p. 72-4, H.G. Schneider, G., p. 114-6; BO 33 Petition by Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel for permission to ring bell, 25th Feb., 1798. Hamilton and Schneider maintain that Sluysken prohibited the erection of a pig-sty, (Zwarte-beest huisje - probably Hartebeesthuis) and that the preacher at Stellenbosch complained because he could not hear the bell, whereas he did so because the bell was in his parish, c.f. the Lutheran Church in Cape Town. See J. Du Plessis, A History, ch. ix.

48) BO 33 Instruction of Sluysken regarding Hottentots at Zoetemelksvallei, 10th Jan., 1795, (Translated Copy).

to the authorities in Cape Town that Baviaanskloof was overstocked. Attempts by Marsveld and some Hottentots to procure the revocation of this order proved unsuccessful. On the intervention of friendly farmers the order was rescinded.

These difficulties were not the result of a policy. When the missionaries fled to Cape Town before Pisani in 1795 the threat to the security of Genadendal by this rebel leader was considered a slight to the authority of the Government by the indignant Governor. When Sluysken had come to an agreement with the swellendam

nation, the missionaries returned to Baviaanskloof with his promise of protection.⁵⁰) After the surrender of the colony,

of the British government towards the mission, he waited on Governor Sluysken, who told him that he had written to

when he visited General Craig he was assured of the protection of the British authorities. Overruling Teunissen's opposition they transformed their promise into actions when some Hottentots petitioned them for permission to proceed to Baviaanskloof) they also instructed Teunissen to protect the hottentots at the Baviaanskloof against the violence of the colonists, who were taking the law into their own hands when they heard of Lee's arrival of a Dutch fleet under Admiral Lucas.⁵²) The strong action of the government, when the farmers around Baviaanskloof threatened to destroy the institution, prevented serious developments. The position of missionaries and Hottentots was made secure by the posting of dragoons to Zoetmelksvallei.⁵³)

The missionaries were again permitted to ring their bell and to erect a church,⁵⁴) although the Landrost of Stellenbosch still looked with disfavour upon the institution.⁵⁵) the relations between the British administration and the missionaries remained cordial. accompanied, Jieutelieat-

49) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1795 (Jan-Apr.)

50) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1795 (Jul. - Aug.)

51) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1795 (Oct.)

52) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Jan. - Spt., 1796 (Aug.)

53) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Jan. - Spt., 1796 (Feb.)

54) BO 33 Petition by Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel for bell, 25th Feb., 1798, and Petition of Bklf. missionaries for permission to erect a church. (no date).

55) BO 33 Landdrost R.J.v.d. Riet to Gov. Craig, 9th Jun., 1796.

Governor Dundas in 1799 on his tour of appeasement of the frontier.⁵⁶) ,hen the Batavians arrived, in 1302, Dundas recommended the brethren to he care of Janssens.⁵⁷

attitude of the Batavian authorities was very much the same as that of the first British occupation. Both Janssens and De Mist visited Baviaans-kloof and seem to have been impressed.⁵⁸) They asked the Brethren at Baviaans-kloof

for a ~~chaplain~~ ^{Wynbrag} to serve the Hottentot troops in the camp at ⁵⁹

. Konrhammer was selected for this work. ⁶⁰ he last act of the Batavian government was to give Baviaans-kloof the core appropriate name of Genadendal.)

ernor Caledon arrived in 1807, Kühnel wrote:

'that we lost in Governor Jansen, God has given us again in Lord caledon; who, when Brother bonatz and I called upon him, assured us okras friendship and good will to our Mission.)

he first action of Caledon was to suggest the commencement of a station at Groenekloof (later mamre) and to grant the land for it. ⁶²) The favourable attitude of the British authorities is evident in the correspondence between Dawning Street and the castle. The Moravian missionaries were recommended to the special care of the Governors at the cape.)

~~Successive~~ Governors stated that the^y appreciated the work of the Moravians and assisted them where the, could. ⁶⁴)

The increase of the land grant and the securing of the title are further proofs of the favour of the government. When in 1817 Somerset, reported to Bathurst that the missionaries in the Colony had not benefited it, he excepted the —Moravians⁶⁵ cost of the Governors visited the institution , ⁶⁶ some even

⁵⁶) Exs. P. Accs. Jul., 1799 - Jan., 1800, Journal Bklf.

⁵⁷) Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 310.

⁵⁸) Exs. P. Accs. Reports on Bklf. Feb., 1803; *ibid.*, Diary Bklf. May 1803 - Nov., 1804.

⁵⁹) *ibid.*, Diary Bklf. May 1803 - Nov., 1804.

⁶⁰) Papers relative to Natives, 1835, Notes of P.B. Borchersds.

⁶¹) P. Accs. LII: J.C. Kühnel, G., 12th Jan., 1808.

⁶²) *ibid.*, LIV: Diary Bklf. Jan. - Feb., 1808; Theal, Records, Vol. vi, p. 270-1.

⁶³) Theal, Records, vol. vi. p. 83, ix. p. 273-4, x. p. 301-2 353-4.

⁶⁴) *ibid.*, vi 270-1, ix, p. 461-2, x. p. 325-32.

⁶⁵) *ibid.*, vol. xi, 25 p. 254.

⁶⁶) P. Accs. LIV: Diary G., Jan. - Feb., 1808; *ibid.*, LXVIII, Küster, G., 21st Apr., 1813; Mohr. 5. 1819: Ber. G., 1817; *ibid.*, 3. 1823: Ber. G., Apr. - Spt., 1821; *ibid.*, 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826; *ibid.*, 1. 1826: Ber. G., 1833; *ibid.*, 1. 1834: Ber. G., 1830.

after the tape had got representative governments)

The governments, however, made use of the man power available at Genadendal. Hottentots were used in the repercussions of the 'trench Revolutionary Wars in the Colony. later they were employed on the Lantern Frontier against the . Finally they played their part in the Transvaal jar of 18L;--1.

In 1795 the Dutch East India Company was in dire need of troops when an English attack threatened. It did not hesitate to levy hottentots as auxiliaries. Four cannon shots summoned the Hottentots to defend the Gape. the

missionaries admonished the Hottentots to go which they did!, albeit reluctantly. .Because of the absence of the :_en the government had to provide floor for the dependents of the soldiers. In September, 1795 most of the Hottentot auxiliaries returned. „f their conduct as soldiers the missionaries report:

he Hottentots ae in general considered as grave soldiers, and were always pot in the van, the farmers and citizens bringing up the rear.")

As the English had difficulties in the interior and their forces were limited, they also recruited men from, the

settlement. In May, 1796 there were over a hundred men in their service. e congregation was depleted because the men took their wives and children with them. the missionaries had

difficulties in feeding those dependents who stayed. After the surrender of the Dutch fleet in Saldanha Bay the colonists acquiesced in the English rule and the English released many Coloured soldiers. ⁶⁹)

Governor Janssens in turn called for Hottentot volunteers. in 1803 already successful attempts were made at recruiting Hottentots. In October and September 1803 about 30 Hottentots volunteered and joined the forces in Gape .own. the

Batavian authorities were especially desirous of having; pendable Baviaanskloof men as sergeants and corporals. The rest of the tibia bodied men premised to proceed to Gape 'X0411

when the signal can was fired. Captain Beseur praised their conduct and said their only complaint was the copious swearing of the other volunteers at Wynberg. Governor Janssens quartered the dependents of Hottentot volunteers on the

67) P. Accs. CCXXVII, 1855: C.R. K lbing, 1st Feb., 1855, ibid., CCLVIII, 1862: W.F. Bechler, G., 11th Nov., 1862.

68) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1795.

69) H.G. Shhneider, G., p. 148; Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Jan. - Spt., 1796.

Baviaanskloof village. 187 women and children arrived there in October, 1804. Soon afterwards the able bodied men, who had not volunteered, were called to Cape Town.⁷⁰)

After 18c6 the ,English authorities required troops to defend the eastern Frontier. Besides volunteers, 90 men were commandeered to join the army in 1811.⁷¹⁾ In the following year 21 volunteers were recruited for a hottentot regiment.⁷²⁾

Hottentot volunteers on their discharge in the jeers between 1810 and 1820 had to promise to proceed to an institute such as Genadendal.⁷³

Soldiers from the were *highly* valued because:

...whilst the hottentot soldier, formerly without sense or feeling of religion, now knows the nature of an oath and appreciates its value.")

In 1619 the danger had become so acute that the

105 men with him to join the burgher forces as wagoners. he had been ordered to enlist 120 men but through the intercession of Hallbeck he was satisfied with fewer. she enlisted men had all returned by the end of the year.⁷⁵)

In February, 1823, Captain Somerset arrived with instructions to recruit Hottentots for the Geese Corps. He informed the men of this plan. In May a recruiting officer arrived who only **procured** 13 men. He caused a disturbance on using liquor to persuade others to join the Corps. The missionaries put a stop to this and he complained that the Genadendal people were disobeying government orders. Hall-**beck** was able to satisfy the authorities and undertook to explain the need for soldiers to his people. When eleven more Hottentots were prepared to go)

in 1835 200 men were levied for a commando. The Gendendal economy was hard hit by the absence of the men,

burghers had been discharged.⁷⁷⁾ The government was forced to supply the dependents with flour. Their commanding officer

⁷⁰⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. May, 1803 - Nov., 1804.

71) P. Accs. LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811; Theal, Records, vol. vi, p. 347.

72) P. Accs. LXVI: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1812.

⁷³⁾ Nchr. 2. 1854: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1852.

⁷⁴) Theal Records, vol. vi, p. 271.

75) Miss. Reg. Oct., 1820: Diary G., 1819.

76) Mchr. 5. 1824: Ber. G., Jan. - März, 1823; ibid., 1. 1825: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1823.

77) Select Committee, Aborigines, 1836, Hallbeck.

was pleased *with* the conduct of the hottentots and said they were a model to the regiment. they were only discharged in 1836.⁷⁸⁾

In May, 1846 over 300 **men** were levied from Genadendal for the Seventh Kaffir War. they returned in February, the following year. phis time they were able to send home some money. They sent letters home fairly frequently . Again they *re highly* praised by their commanders. They **only fault** found with *there*. was that they sometimes drank too much. After they had returned, another attempt was made to recruit volunteers. Favourable terms were offered and eventually about 100 men joined the Hottentot Corps. They were promised land in Kaffraria and a free journey for their dependents *go glair* future domicile near the frontier.⁷⁹⁾

In January, and February, 1851 many were again prepared to defend the Colony in the Eighth Kaffir War. In the end about 36J men from Genadendal served at the front. *ire three* statlons of the ;Moravian Brethren alone, provided 1,000 men for the prosecution of the mar. the Genadendalers experienced sharp engagements in the Amatola Mountains and acquitted themselves well. They remained loyal to the government after the Shiloh and at river not Hottentots revolted. Most of these

Hottentots arrived back in July, 1851 and immediately recruiting started for the formation of a free corps. As the returned men had been dissatisfied with their burgher officers, who had seduced the young Hottentot *to* drinking and card playing, the recruiting was unsuccessful at first. *mater* on, however, over a hundred men from Genadendal volunteered. Some returned but about 70 of *treem* remained on the frontier and be an to lead the *dlissipated* life of soldiers.⁸⁰⁾

When an attempt was made in 1878 to recruit 300 volunteers not one of **the** beside; *s* would risk his life as they did not consider the Colony endangered.⁶¹⁾ in 1681, however, over a hundred men were prepared to join the forces as wagoners.⁸²⁾

The Coloured community also played a part in **the con-**

78) Nchr. 3. 1838: Ber. G., 1835; *ibid.*, 2. 1840: Ber. G., 1837

79) *ibid.*, 6. 1848: Ber. G., 1846; *ibid.*, 2. 1849: Ber. G., 1847

80) Nchr. 2. 1853: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez. 1851; *ibid.*, 2. 1845; Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1852.

81) *ibid.*, 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878.

82) *ibid.*, März 1882: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1881; *ibid.*, Nov., 1882: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1881.

stitutional development of the Cape colony. When in 1846 -9 the Colony was stirred to indignation **by** the plan to land convicts at the Cape, the missionaries felt that this would endanger the moral security of their Hottentots . They

therefore drew up a petition signed by 472 coloureds and requested the revocation of this order. In 1849 the residents pledged their support to the Antic-Convict-Association , and when the ship had arrived in Table Bay many Genadendalers signed the resolution passed at the mass Meeting which decided to actively oppose the landing of the convicts.⁸³⁾

introduction of the representative constitution in 1853 filled the Coloureds at Genadendal with apprehension and the missionaries had to explain it to them and allay their fears.⁸⁴⁾ By this constitution many residents

qualified as voters. the elections held in 1854 were fairly

quiet,) out in the 1856 elections the missionaries were shocked by the copious drinking.⁶⁶⁾ In 1869 the candidates for the Upper house provided a roast in Genadendal at which wine was served and the candidates for use Lower House procured votes by bribing members of the electorate.⁶⁷⁾ During the elections in 1871 the missionaries estimated that 1.500 bottles of wine were brought into the settlement.⁸⁸⁾ when, as *in* 1874, there was no polling station at Genadendal, the successful candidates thanked the Genadendal electorate for their support by sending 450 bottles of wine;⁸⁹⁾ wonder the missionaries felt that the right to vote was of no real benefit to the Coloureds at Genadendal. In 1878 they again complain of copious bribing. Unscrupulous candidates made use of the Coloured vote for their own ends, yet the

Brethren dared not advise their charges for fear of evoking the opposition of the political parties.⁹⁰⁾ A few years better the missionaries characterise the situation thus:

"Tenn ein angelegentliches volksbeglückendes Utz was Stimme erlangen will, werden hunderte von Pfund Sterling ausgegeben, um die Stimmen der Farbigen zu erhalten, und ist dann der Zweck er-

- 83) Nchr. 1. 1850: Ber. G., 1848; ibid., 3. 1851: Ber. G., 1849
- 84) ibid., 4. 1855: Ber. G., Jan. - Spt., 1853.
- 85) ibid., 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.
- 86) ibid., 5. 1860: Ber. G., Aug. - Dez., 1858.
- 87) Nchr. 2. 1871: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1869.
- 88) ibid., 4. 1873: Ber. G., 1871.
- 89) ibid., 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.
- 90) ibid., 1. 1880: Ber. G., 1878.

reicht, dam) hilft sin solcher durch die Stimmen der Eingeborenen the Parliament Gelangter esetze machen, die parade diese armen Eingeborgen aufs empfindlichste treffen und schädigen ')

In 1884 the secret ballot was introduced and this improved the behaviour of voters at Genadendal. the Granting first of representative and then of responsible Government to the ape Colony made the government subject to censure by the fuming interest, and therefore, the influence of the missionaries on government policy became less effective. the advent of the Afrikanerbond in the 1880ies made the missionaries apprehensive.') We Government, influenced by ⁹³ this party, reduced the financial grants to mission schools. the relations between the community and government were only stabilised when the 1909 Mission Lands Act was applied to Genadendal in 1926.⁹⁴)

⁹¹) Nchr. 3. 1885: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1883. (when a prospective benefactor of the people wants to get a seat in Parliament, hundreds of pounds sterling are expended to obtain the votes of the Coloureds, and when the goal is reached such a man, who has been voted into Parliament by the natives, helps to pass legislation that is especially injurious to these poor natives.)

⁹²) Nchr. 5. 1885: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1884.

⁹³) *ibid.*, 10. 1889: Jan. - Jun., 1886.

⁹⁴) L.R. Schmidt, Die plaaslike bestuur, 1792-1926.

VI.

Relations with the colonists.

The colonists were divided in their attitude towards the United Brethren at Genadendal. There were always some who were favourably inclined to the missionaries; others were bitterly opposed.

The first missionaries were welcomed by a number of fervent Christians in Cape Town, and they called on a certain Cloete at Gonstantia. When the missionaries had established themselves at aviaanskloof, two farmers visited them and one of the two invited them to his home, saying: "Let us be good neighbours."¹) The missionaries visited the farmers and European visitors attended the services at Baviaanskloof.²) It was on religious grounds that this early friendship between farmers and missionaries was based.

European who attended services on festive occasions are frequently mentioned in the accounts from 1750 onwards to about 1850. From then such visitors became fewer until at the end of our period no persons from the neighbourhood, except clergymen, visited the institution.³ Until the emancipation of the slaves in 1838, the slaves from neighbouring farms, accompanied by their masters, attended divine service at

Genadendal and Christmas and new year services were generally well attended because farmers allowed their Hottentot servants to go to Genadendal after the harvest had been gathered in.⁴)

The intervention of Mr. Cloete and his friends saved Baviaanskloof from serious trouble. On receiving Cloete's report on the order limiting the number of cattle at the station, the authorities rescinded the order. Cloete later purchased the land adjoining the mission 'with a view to the safety of the mission.'⁵)

There was, however, also a great deal of bitter opposition to the missionaries. The reasons for this opposition are obvious. The farmers feared that the institution at Baviaanskloof would deplete their labour supply because the Hottentots obviously preferred to go there than work for them. The mission lands, furthermore, limited the expansion

1) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

2) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. 1795.

3) Nchr. and P. Accs. *passim*.

4) e.g. Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1801; Nchr. 6. 1820: Ber. G., Okt. - Dez., 1818.

5) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1795.

of the farmers.) in addition the farmers felt that the Hottentots should not benefit from an education that they had never been able to procure for themselves.) As Calvinists, the colonists at first⁸ opposed the type of religion preached at Baviaanskloof.) Finally, they disliked that the missionaries interceded for the⁹ Hottentots when they had been ill-treated by their masters.)

Certain colonists, therefore, attempted to make the position of the missionaries untenable. They planned a boycott of the mission which was unsuccessful.¹⁰ Farmers tried to detain hottentots proceeding to Baviaanskloof by such methods as holding back their children.¹¹) Malicious rumours were started with the aim of deterring Hottentots from moving to the station.¹²)

in 1795, when the cape was troubled by disturbances in the interior and the threat of an English attack, the security of the missionaries too, was threatened. In July Hottentots reported that the farmers who had taken part in the revolt at Swellendam had told them that the school at Baviaanskloof would soon no longer exist. The three missionaries thereupon prepared for flight. On the advice of Teunissen they sent home all the hottentots who came from beyond the Sonderend River to pacify the insurgents. But on the 20th July, some of the 'nationals' arrived to inform them of their decision regarding the institution. KUhncl was shown an article in their manifesto which read as follows:

We will not permit any Moravians to live here and instruct the Hottentots, for as there are many Christians who receive no instruction, it is not proper, that the hottentots should be made wiser than the Christians, but they must remain what they were formerly.

Those Hottentots who were born on a farmer's estate must live there, and serve the farmer till they are 25 years old, before they receive wages.

The Hottentots must live among the farmers and not assemble together as at Baviaans Kloof.

All Bushmen, or wild hottentots caught by us, must remain slaves For life.

item, the Moravians were never meant to be employed among the Hottentots of this country, but among the Bushmen..."

6) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793; H. Lichtenstein, I p. 245-6.

7) Exs. P. Accs. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793, Journal Bklf.

8) H. Lichtenstein, I p. 245-6.

9) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

10) C.I. Latrobe, p. 117-8.

11) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

12) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793 and 1795.

This manifesto was said to have been sizzled by three thousand. Yet the threats of the 'nationals' themselves did not materialize. ¹³)

In July the Brethren received a peremptory order from Commandant Pisani, who was reputed to be marching on

Rodesand with 800 men, to leave Baviaanskloof immediately.

Teunissen advised them to go to Cape Town and promised to take care of their belongings. They left Baviaanskloof on the 31st, July. On their arrival in Cape Town they immediately proceeded to the Governor, who was surprised at the audacity of Pisani. The representative of the 'nationals' in Cape

Town, who was negotiating an agreement on the defence of the Colony with the authorities of the company, told the

missionaries that Pisani was not one of them and that they would not be harmed if they returned. Pisani was captured by the 'nationals' themselves and handed over to the officials in

Cape Town. The Governor was then of the opinion that they would be safe, so in August they returned on the wagons of one of their farmer friends. ¹⁴)

In February, 1796, after the English had occupied the Cape apparently another attack on the mission threatened. According to the journal a number of men gathered on a farm near Baviaanskloof with the aim of destroying the station. Hottentots brought the news of this attack to the missionaries, another informed the government. General Craig sent a letter to Teunissen threatening severe reprisals if such an outrage should occur. ¹⁵) After this incident, never more than a strong threat, ¹⁶) there was peace.

In subsequent years a number of 'unimportant differences over the boundaries of land' arose. ¹⁷) In 1796 their old friend Cloete complained about the trespassing of cattle onto his farm. Similar complaints were made by farmers who lived beyond Cloete's establishment. ¹⁸) The missionaries believed that the land on which the cattle of the Hottentots grazed did not belong to Cloete as no farms were to have been given out in the Baviaanskloof area. ¹⁹) in fairness to

13) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1795.

14) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. 1795.

15) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. 1796.

16) H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 245-6; c.f. J. Barrow, I, pp. 311-2.

17) H. Lichtenstein, I, pp. 245-6.

18) BO 33 Landdrost v.d. Riet to Craig, 9th Jun., 1796, and Annexes.

19) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1796.

Cloete, however, it must be mentioned that he produced his title to the farm Weltevreden. The only condition that the Company had imposed was that Cloete was not to drive his cattle through the Sonderend and thereby infringe the rights of the neighbouring Hottentots.²⁰) Three years later, the missionaries and Cloete's son came to an agreement. The Hottentots were permitted to graze their cattle on Cloete's farm twice a week.')

In 1799 the missionaries petitioned the English Governor because of the encroachment of two farmers on Baviaanskloof land.²²) matter was settled in favour of the missionaries after the land had been resurveyed.²³) All the land seized by the farmers was not returned because that would have endangered their financial position. Baviaanskloof was compensated by a grant of money towards the cultivation of the land returned.²⁴) After this no serious boundary disputes are on record except unfounded claims of certain residents in 1850 and 1907.²⁵)

the relations between the missionaries and the colonists improved steadily during the first British occupation. The number of visitors to the services held at Baviaanskloof increased. their attitude towards these services was no longer one of curiosity but one of religious sincerity. The missionaries permitted their slaves to attend.²⁶) From eighty to a hundred whites attended the Christmas and New Year services in 1801-2.²⁷) They were beginning to appreciate the value of Hottentots educated at Baviaanskloof and began to prefer

Christian servants to heathen.²⁸) When Lichtenstein visited the settlement he noted that cordial friendship existed between missionaries and the colonists.²⁹,

20) BO 33 ~~Letter~~ Landdrost v.d. Riet to Craig, 9th Jun., 1796, Annex.

21) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1799.

22) BO 33 Petition against encroachment by Moravians, 12th Jan., 1799.

23) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1801.

24) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. Mch. - Sept., 1802.

25) Nchr. l. 1852: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1850; P. Accs. Sept., 1907: Report of Missions: South Africa West.

26) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Jul., 1799 - Jan., 1800.

27) *ibid.*, Journal Bk1f. 1801.

28) *ibid.*, Kohnhammer G., to Secretary of the Society, 1st Jul., 1798.

29) H. Lichtenstein, I, pp. 245-6.

After 1802 it was a regular practice for colonists to spend Christmas and New Year at Genadendal.³⁰⁾ The colonists were accommodated in the houses of Coloured residents.³¹⁾ Sometimes there were over twenty wagons on the 'wer t.'³²⁾ The number of people attending religious festivals decreased after 1850,³³⁾ although in 1869 nearly a hundred Whites attended the services at Easter.³⁴⁾ In general the attitude of the Europeans had changed, and it is noted with surprise in the diary of 16 Barea for 1872 that Europeans attended a service together with the Coloured inhabitants.³⁵⁾

The missionaries thus had opportunities to influence the religious views of their neighbour. They used hottentots to disperse tracts among the farmers. The wealthier the colonists grew in relation to the Coloureds the less frequently did this take place. Colonists soon showed that they were genuinely affected by the teaching of the brethren and special Meetings were held for them.³⁷⁾ In the early 1830ies the missionaries discerned a definite awakening among the farmers.") The Brethren frequently held burial services for deceased colonists in the vicinity.³⁹⁾ The religious influence of the missionaries over the colonists grew less when they were better served by their own clergy.

The services of the brethren on the outstations were also attended by colonists. Indeed some farmers made it possible for the brethren to found outstations on their farms.⁴⁰⁾

Healthy colonists occasionally gave valuable presents, for instance Baron Ludwig who presented English, Dutch and German books for the Genadendal library and a bell ringing apparatus for Kopjes Kasteel.⁴¹⁾ During the famine in 1822

Landdrost Schönberg of Swellendam opened a subscription for the

30) P. Accs. LIII: Diary G., Sept. - Dec., 1807; *ibid.*, ~~III~~ Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810.

31) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bkif. May, 1803 - Nov., 1804.

32) P. Accs. LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811.

33) Nchr. 5. 1860: Ber. G., Aug. - Dez., 1858.

34) *ibid.*, 2. 1871: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1869.

35) *ibid.*, 8. 1872: Ber. Barea, 1871.

36) Exs. P. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 8th Oct., 1834.

37) Nchr. ~~1831~~: 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

38) *ibid.*, 6. 1834: Ber. G., 1832.

39) e.g. P. Accs. CXOV 1847: Diary G., 1845; Nchr. 2. 1849: Ber. G., 1847.

40) Nchr. 2. 1844: Ber. G., 1841; *ibid.*, 4. 1851: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1850; P. Accs. No. 18. 1894: Visitation of Br. Buchner.

41) Nchr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

poor in Genadendal.⁴²⁾ The colonises, were, however, criticised by the Rev. J. Murray for not leading a Christian life themselves and thus setting an example to their servants.⁴³⁾

There was bound to be some social contact between the farmers and the Coloured inhabitants of the settlement. The missionaries realised from the very beginning that it caused vice and even crime among their charges when they **went out** to work for the farmers.⁴⁴⁾ There were the detrimental effects of migratory labour on family life. Both men and women labourers had to sleep in one room. by the tot system the labourers were given wine four to five times a day and sometimes instead of wages.⁴⁵⁾ No wonder missionaries expected to learn of regrettable incidents during the harvest season.⁴⁶⁾ One farmer gave his labourers plenty of wine but hardly ever money and when they wished to leave he made out that they owed him money.⁴⁷⁾ 'Canteens' were licensed in the neighbourhood of Genadendal through the efforts of enemies of the mission on the licensing boards.⁴⁸⁾ The

missionaries criticised the farmers in their accounts because they did not give their coloured labourers enough wages and in fact despised them.⁴⁹⁾

The European entered the village for other than religious reasons. In 1844 for instance a European arrived with a wagon and brazenly commenced to sell wine ignoring the requests of the Brethren and 'opzieners' to leave.⁵⁰⁾ In 1834 a White youth had to be ejected by the 'opzieners' because he was found in houses where there were women only.⁵¹⁾ In the 1860ies The young colonists apparently caused many

disturbances. The Brethren had to stop a Number of dances organised by whites in the village for their amusement.⁵²⁾ In 1869 the missionaries feared the visit of European at

42) Nehr. 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

43) P. Accs. CCLXI, 1863: Description of G., - Rev. J. Murray.

44) Exs. P. Accs. Diary Bk1f. May, 1803 - Nov., 1804; P. Accs. LXIX: Diary G., Jan. - Apr. 1813.

45) Nehr. 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

46) *ibid.*, 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

47) P. Accs. No. 399. 1885: Diary G., Jul., 1884 - Jul., 1885.

48) Nehr. 3. 1866: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1864.

49) *ibid.*, 4. 1894: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1892.

50) *ibid.*, 2. 1847: Ber. G., 1844.

51) *ibid.*, 6. 1836: Ber. G., 1834.

52) *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1857: Ber. G., 1856; *ibid.*, 10. 1871: Ber. G., 1870.

crew -ear because of the disturbances they caused.)

:here were some moves made by colonists aired at putting difficulties in the way of the missionaries. the attempt by the colonists to introduce individual tenure at Genadendal in Parliament has been mentioned.⁵) The interrogation of farmer neighbours showed that the instigators of this move had received most of their information from Christian Reitz , who had been excluded from the congregation and had caused the missionaries serious trouble by opening a 'canteen' in the village.⁵⁵) the farmers objected to the store at Genadendal and the supply of wine to the Coloureds by the missionaries.⁵⁶) An influential enemy of the mission caused the replacement of the Coloured constable by a white constable.⁵⁷) Colonists who looked at the mission were at the bottom of the movement to grant liquor licenses to inhabitants of Greyton. The aim was to make the stationing of a magistrate there necessary as it was felt that the magistrate at Caledon was too sympathetic towards the Coloureds.⁵⁸) according to the missionaries a malignant attack on Genadendal by a colonist in the Divisional Council was the reason for the high assessment of Genadendal for the purpose of a road tax.⁵⁹) Impassioned attacks on the mission sometimes appeared in the press. In some cases the accusations were refuted by outsiders.⁶⁰) Some of the outcries led to government investigations of conditions at the station. Usually the conduct of the missionaries and the inhabitants of Genadendal was vindicated on such occasions.⁶¹) Genadendal was never the cause for a political controversy.⁶²) The records of the United Brethren Mission hardly refer to the outburst against⁶³) The Moravians

53) Nchr. 2. 1871: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1869.

54) ibid., 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

55) C. of G. H. Appendix, Interrogation of farmers, 1856; Nchr. 5. 1860: Ber. G., Aug. - Dez., 1858.

56) Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 330-1.

57) Nchr. 2. 1854: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1852.

58) ibid., 3. 1866: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1864.

59) ibid., 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1886.

60) ibid., 3. 1866: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1864.

61) ibid., 3. 1851: Ber. G., 1849; P. Accs. Moravian Missions etc. Hallbeck, 5th Dec., 1823.

62) Nchr. 2. 1840: Ber. G., 1837.

63) P. Accs. No. 335, 1882: Retrospect of the Missionary Work of the Moravian Church during the past 50 years.

were especially excepted from the accusations which an agricultural society made in 1627 against the missionaries in

general.⁵⁴) political attacks on the Moravian stations only became serious during the 1850ies but were never widespread.

A non-farming section of the white population was highly sympathetic to the missionaries. The most important group of people who visited Genadendal and expressed admiration for the work done there consisted of high officials.

Frequently, especially in the early years, such people as officers from the Cape Town garrison or from ships in the harbour called.⁶⁵) Frequently the village was visited by persons⁶⁶ from overseas and often officials of the Indian government. In every cases they presented the mission with generous sums of money.⁶⁷) After 1846 these visits decreased as a result of the introduction of a steamship route via the Indian sea. The missionaries remark with regret that this development⁶⁸ was a loss to Cape Town and to the mission. The missionaries also received visits of sympathisers such as the la'.

Schmidt, who had acted as their host in 1792,⁶⁹) and Thomas Pringle, who was laid up in Genadendal after breaking his leg.⁷⁰)

The early relations of the Moravian with religious fellow workers were on the whole fairly cordial. in spite of Calvinist prejudice against the United Brethren some leading predikants, such as an bier and Jos, were great friends of the first missionaries.⁷¹) These relations improved rapidly after⁷² the inception of the South African Missionary Society. Relations with the Lutheran pastors in Cape town were always of the happiest.⁷³)

When Genadendal had become famous it was visited by

⁶⁴) Theal, Records, xxviii, p. 365.

⁶⁵) P. Accs. LX: Diary G., Sept. - Dec., 1809; *ibid.*, LX: Diary G., Jan. - Spt. 1810.

⁶⁶) *ibid.*, LXI: Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810.

⁶⁷) Mchr. 6. 1819: Jan. - Spt., 1818; *ibid.*, 1. 1822: Ber. G., Jan. - Spt. 1820.

⁶⁸) *ibid.*, 6. 1848: Ber. G., 1846.

⁶⁹) Exs. P. Accs. Short Reports Dec. - Jan., 1794-5.

⁷⁰) Mchr. 1. 1825: Ber. G., 1824.

⁷¹) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793 and Journal Bk. Mch., 1799.

⁷²) *ibid.*, Journal Bk. May 1803 - Nov., 1804.

⁷³) P. Accs. LXIII: Diary G., Aug., 1810 - Jun., 1811; *ibid.*, LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811; *ibid.*, CACV 1847: Diary G., 1845.

many missionaries, some of whom came for help and advice. ⁷⁴⁾
 the Brethren tried to dissuade Captain Gardiner from going
 to the 'Zoglahs', ⁷⁵⁾ they impressed Campbell with their in-
 stitution. ⁷⁶⁾ Dr. Philip visited Uenadendal twice and once
 spoke in English to those who could follow him in that lang-
 uage. ⁷⁷⁾ Converted Basusus of the Kiwis Evangelical Society,
 who had come with their teachers, talked to the congrega-
 tion in their own tongue 'with the aid of interpreters. ⁷⁸⁾
 The inhabitants of the village took ⁷⁹⁾ a great interest in the
 visit of the Reverend Head Junior. ⁸⁰⁾ relations with the
 Berlin and Rhenish societies were always excellent. ⁸¹⁾

⁷⁴⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 158-9; P. Accs. CCL, 1861: Kühn, G., 18th Dec., 1860.

⁷⁵⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 2nd Dec., 1854.

⁷⁶⁾ P. Accs. LXVI: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1812.

⁷⁷⁾ Nchr. 1. 1828: Ber. G., 1825; *ibid.*, 1. 1823: Ber. G., 1821.

⁷⁸⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

⁷⁹⁾ P. Accs. CCXXX, 1856: C.R. Kölbinger, G., 24th Spt., 1855.

⁸⁰⁾ *ibid.*, CCXXIII, 1854: D.W. Suhl, G., 21st Dec., 1853.

VII.

The Editor

reason for the favour with which the Government Brad the colonists looked upon the mission settlement at Genadendal were that it and the other Moravian stations, were supposed to be economically sound and that the inhabitants were taught to work and be thrifty. his opinion was usually arrived at after a comparison of Genadendal with Bethelsdorp. the Moravian missionaries themselves did not believe that the Bethelsdorp Hottentots were less industrious.¹ When a comparison like this is made it is necessary to take into account the time when the comparison was made. It must be remembered that Baviaanskloof-Genadendal had ten years start of Bethelsdorp. most of the criticisms of the latter station are found in early documents. in Genadendal the diligence of the Hottentots could easily be observed in the workshops, whereas the Bethelsdorp Coloureds were mainly agricultural workers. There were no village industries for lack of water and of suitable missionaries to teach trades. Moreover, the geographical factor must be considered. Genadendal in comparison with Bethelsdorp had undoubtedly the more advantageous setting.² It had a fairly abundant supply of water. water was available for the mill and irrigation. Although the soil was not very fertile it could be irrigated and in the Cape this is often important.⁵ Thus Breutel could write of Genadendal:

the gardens, which are well stocked with excellent vegetables, as well as with orange, peach, and rose-trees, afford sustenance to the body and pleasure to the eyes. A fine plantation of forest-trees surrounds them, Genadendal is proof of what industry can effect in South Africa, where an ample supply of water can be obtained, and in a locality in which the temperate and the torrid zones seem to join hands.')

Genadendal was, however, not a Garden of Eden and, especially in the beginning the Missionaries and the inhabitants had to contend with many difficulties caused by their environment. The abundance of water was not an unmixed blessing. Fairly frequently the gardens and cornlands were damaged by floods, Such as for instance in 1801 and in 1878 when a hundred gardens and many houses are

1) Select Committee Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

2) J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, 1939. p. 323. 347.

3) Theal, Records, xxv. p. 328.

4) P. Accs. CCXXIII, 1854: Breutel to Mission Directory (no date)

5) Mehr. 1. 1834: Ber. G., 1831; *ibid.*, 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878.

In the early years the agricultural and pastoral activities of the inhabitants were hampered by the attacks of wild animals. After the Hottentots had killed a large 'wolf' (probably a leopard) in March, 1799 the missionaries exclaimed:

"We were glad to have destroyed so great an enemy to our stock, for there are enough of other descriptions, tigers, jackals, musk-cats, ... with whom we are continually at war."⁶⁾

Baboons were a menace to the gardens as late as 1890, and a leopard was seen in the grounds at the same time.⁷⁾

Another great danger that was continually threatening Genadendal was the threat of veld fires. The parched veld during the summer increased the danger of fires.⁸⁾ When a veld fire threatened the bell on the 'werft' was rung and as many people as possible would gather together to fight it.⁹⁾ The village possessed a fire-engine as early as 1812 but it was of little use against grass fires.¹⁰⁾ The buildings on the 'werft' and in the settlement with their thatched roofs were and still are very vulnerable to fire. That they were never burnt down even after the fire-fighters had given up hope of saving them was felt to be due to divine intervention. In January, 1878 the wind turned;¹¹⁾ on another occasions there was rain.¹²⁾

The money required to run the institution came from both outside and inside Genadendal. The main income was derived from contributions of the Elder's Conference and from wealthy sympathisers of the mission. In the early years funds were made available by the Society of Friends of the United Brethren's Mission in Holland. It together with the Zeys settlement raised most of the money required at Beviaanskloof up till 1800.¹³⁾ Later other societies such as the London Association of Friends of the United Brethren's Missions also played an important part in the collection of funds.¹⁴⁾

⁶⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Mch., 1799.

⁷⁾ P. Accs. No. 4. 1890: Son of Dr. Drury, G., 29th May, 1890.

⁸⁾ P. Accs. LXV: Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1812; *ibid.*, CXXIX, 1853: C.R. Esling, G., 14th Feb., 1853.

⁹⁾ Nchr. 1. 1834: Ber. G., 1831.

¹⁰⁾ P. Accs. LXV: Diary G., 1812.

¹¹⁾ Nchr. 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878.

¹²⁾ Cape Argus: Saturday, 19. Sept. 1953.

¹³⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Advertisement, 1800; H.G. Schneider, G., p. 179.

¹⁴⁾ Nchr. 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854; *ibid.*, 3. 1868: Ber. G., Jun., 1865 - Dec., 1866.

Frequently the accounts enumerate gifts of clothing, bibles and books from these societies.¹⁵⁾ Individuals also gave gifts, such as a fire-engine, medicines,¹⁶⁾ a handmill,¹⁷⁾ an organ for the Genadendal church,¹⁸⁾ and clothing.¹⁹⁾ The distribution of presents of clothing or similar gifts was difficult.²⁰⁾ In some cases such gifts were sold at low prices and the money was used for the poor box.²¹⁾

In times of need special remissions were made by the Elder's Conference and the friends of the mission. This was the case in the disastrous years of 1822-3.²²⁾ Special donations were also made when a new church was erected, for example at Berea,²³⁾ or for the present Church in Genadendal.²⁴⁾

A certain amount of financial help was offered from within the Cape Colony. In 1795 and in 1799-1800 the government of the Colony provided the timber necessary for the erection of a church gratis.²⁵⁾ In the building of the first house at Baviaanskloof, Peunissen procured the building material for the first house at reduced prices.²⁶⁾

Before 1846 an important source of such money was made by donations of visitors, mainly officials from India. Slaves, in a position to earn money, also made contributions for the poor.²⁷⁾ A number of colonists sympathetic towards the mission sent aid. Landdrost Schönberg and Baron Ludwig have been mentioned. Later certain farmers provided land for outstations and contributed money for the rection of chapels. The Coloured members of the congregations on the outstations

15) e.g. P. Accs. LXI: Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810; Mchr. 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

16) P. Accs. LXIII: ^{Diary} ~~Diary~~ G., Aug., 1810 - Jun., 1811.

17) *ibid.*, LXI: Diary G., Mch. - Jul., 1810.

18) Mchr. 6. 1834: Ber. G., 1832.

19) *ibid.*, 8. 1819: Ber. G., 1817.

20) *ibid.*, 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

21) *ibid.*, 1. 1822: Jan. - Sept., 1820, Ber. G.,

22) *ibid.*, 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822; P. Accs. Moravian Missions etc., Hallbeck, G., 29th Apr., 1824.

23) Mchr. 3. 1868: Ber. Berea, Jun., 1865 - Dez., 1866.

24) P. Accs. No. 14, 1893: A Red Letter Day for G.

25) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1795 & Jul. - Dec., 1799; B0 33 Petition of Baviaanskloof Missionaries for permission to erect a Church.

26) Mchr. 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

27) *ibid.*, 6. 1819: Ber. G., Jan. - Sept., 1818.

28) P. Accs. CCXV: C.L. Teutsch, G., 25th Mch., 1852.

also collected funds.²⁸⁾

The missionaries aim from the beginning was to make the settlement self-sufficient. They therefore, commenced to teach the congregation to pay its way. The first suggestion to the chapel-servants and the congregation was to pay for the lighting of the church. Consequently the first church fee consisted of either a certain weight of tallow to be supplied when stock was slaughtered or sixpence a year.²⁹⁾ In 1802 the members of the congregation decided to pay an annual church fee of one shilling.³⁰⁾ In the course of time the amount was increased until in June, 1866 it was fixed at 6 shillings for men over 17 years and 4 shillings for women.³¹⁾ However, the willingness to pay was no longer general. In 1870 some members sent a petition to the Governor complaining that they were being forced to pay the fee.³²⁾ Although the petition was not considered by the Governor the contribution was not paid by approximately thirty percent of the members.³³⁾ There were regular collections in church for special purposes, for instance, for mission work in other fields,³⁴⁾ and the collection of funds for the new church between 1891 and 1893. The Hottentots in the village managed to raise a sum of £1225 over a period of three years for their new church.³⁵⁾

The idea of work for the good of the congregation was always present. When the first church was built in 1799-1800 the women and children gathered stones for the foundation and burnt bricks while the men transported the timber granted by the government.³⁶⁾ The present church was also built with the help of members of the congregation.³⁷⁾ Repair work and improvements on buildings and property used by the congregation were also carried out on a co-operative basis for example the upkeep of the burial ground.³⁸⁾

28) P. Accs. CCXV: C.L. Teutsch, G., 25th Mch., 1852.

29) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bkif. Jan. - Feb., 1799.

30) *ibid.*, Journal Bkif. Mch. - Spt., 1802.

31) Nchr. 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

32) *ibid.*, 10. 1871; Ber. G., Jan. - Jul., 1870.

33) *ibid.*, 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878.

34) *ibid.*, 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

35) P. Accs. No. 14, 1893: A Red Letter Day for G.,

36) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bkif. Jul. - Dec., 1799.

37) P. Accs. No. 14, 1893: A Red Letter Day for Genadendal.

38) Nchr. 1. 1823: Ber. G., Apr. - Spt., 1821; *ibid.*, 3. 1878: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1877.

As the mission was to be self-sufficient in order to grow their own food the first three Brethren commenced with preparation of ground for a garden in March, 1793,³⁹⁾ and later planted a vineyard.⁴⁰⁾ Soon the garden supplied most of their provisions.⁴¹⁾ and was admired by visitors.⁴²⁾ Their first attempts to keep cattle and goats were not successful, but soon the Brethren learnt how to look after them.⁴³⁾ The missionaries, however, it should be noted never used the land for their own profit.⁴⁴⁾

The 'industries' established on the station were to earn a profit to defray expenses incurred on the station. The energetic Kühnel established the knife manufacturing department. By 1797 his knives were being bought and sold in Cape Town at double the price.⁴⁵⁾ Kühnel had to make the tools necessary to shape the knives himself, with the help of his Hottentot labourers.⁴⁶⁾ In the beginning these knives produced the main income on the station. In 1808, however, they brought in only 300-400 Rds. annually.⁴⁷⁾ Later the manufacture of cutlery became less important.

A smithy was built in 1811.⁴⁸⁾ When Latrobe visited the settlement the combined cutlery and smithy employed 14 Hottentots.⁴⁹⁾ The smithy was mainly used to manufacture ironwork needed on the station.⁵⁰⁾ In 1847 ploughshares were produced in it.⁵¹⁾

The mill, built in 1797 to grind corn for the Hottentots and the missionaries⁵²⁾ was soon used by colonists as well.⁵³⁾ The mill was continually being improved. In 1818

39) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

40) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1797.

41) *ibid.*, (as note 40)

42) Lady Anne Barnard's Journal pp. 183; H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 249; J. Barrow, I, p. 309.

43) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1795.

44) CO 677 Memorial of United Brethren Missionaries, 11th Feb., 1856. Mission had: one span of oxen, a few cows and 4 horses, a few sheep for slaughter.

45) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Dec., 1797.

46) H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 250.

47) Theal, Records, vi, p. 347.

48) Nchr. 3. 1837: Bericht des Bruder Hallbeck.

49) C.I. Latrobe, p. 396-7.

50) Nchr. 3. 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai 1821.

51) P. Accs. CXCVIII: C.R. Eßling, G., 26th Oct., 1847.

52) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. 1797.

53) H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 250.

new millstones from the Rhine arrived. They were both better and cheaper than those hewn at Stellenbosch.⁵⁴⁾ In 1826 a new and larger waterwheel for the mill was fitted,⁵⁵⁾ and in 1864 a new mill was erected by Klinghardt.⁵⁶⁾ The mill was still in use a few years ago.⁵⁷⁾

Of the other trades introduced with the double aim of training craftsmen and of bringing in money for the mission the joiner's shop erected in 1811⁵⁸⁾ and the tannery, must be mentioned. An Irishman was engaged for the express purpose of starting the latter in 1828.⁵⁹⁾ It was still producing in 1884.⁶⁰⁾ Bigge mentions wheelwrights in 1823,⁶¹⁾ but wagon-making soon ceased to be a profitable undertaking. In 1862 Lady Duff Gordon met "a carpenter, a cabinet-maker, a shoe-maker, a storekeeper..."⁶²⁾ Towards the end of the Century new industries were introduced by the missionaries to provide the inhabitants with a means of making a living.

The 'store' was run by the missionaries for the good of the Hottentots. Since the Hottentots at first had no sense of the value of money they were easily duped by the farmers who supplied them with necessities. The missionaries strongly advised the villagers to buy from their store.⁶³⁾ The 'store' did, however, assist the station in its efforts towards self-support.⁶⁴⁾

The money derived from the Mission Directory and from the station's 'industries' was spent in various ways. Clothing and food for the 'missionary family' was not very expensive as the missionaries only received small salaries. When buildings had to be erected the expenses rose.⁶⁵⁾ In

⁵⁴⁾ Nchr. 6. 1820: Ber. G., Okt. - Dez., 1818.

⁵⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

⁵⁶⁾ *ibid.*, 9. 1865: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1864.

⁵⁷⁾ Information from S. Weder.

⁵⁸⁾ Nchr. 3. 1837: ~~Ber. G.~~, Bericht des Hr. Hallbeck.

⁵⁹⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

⁶⁰⁾ P. Accs. No. 399, 1885: Diary G., Jul., 1884 - Jul., 1885.

⁶¹⁾ Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 329.

⁶²⁾ Lady Duff Gordon, p. 106.

⁶³⁾ Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 330.

⁶⁴⁾ P. Accs. No. 22. 1895.

⁶⁵⁾ *ibid.*, CXI, 1826: Hallbeck, G., 19th Dec., 1825; *ibid.*, CCXXI, 1866: W.F. Bechler, G., 9th Mch., 1866; H. G. Schneider G., p. 152-6. Expenses paid by Mission Directory:

1793-3 6255 Rds.

1799 7621 Rds. (Building of church.)

1808 the task of making Genadendal financially independent was judged to be impossible. The only income from the station had been the 300-400 Rds. from Kühnelt's knives.⁶⁶⁾ In 1820, however, when the expenses of the 'missionary family' amounted to 6,000 Rds. or £500 the deficit was only £19.⁶⁷⁾ Genadendal reports a surplus in 1834 only, but it is a fairly large sum of £400 and it covered all the deficits in the Western Province in that year.⁶⁸⁾ In 1865, when the Berea church was erected the station definitely needed outside financial aid.⁶⁹⁾ In 1882 the Western Province stations had again been financially independent for a number of years,⁷⁰⁾ but the 1880ies brought depression to the Cape and the Western Province stations were not self-supporting again till 1890.⁷¹⁾ This 'financial independence' refers only to current expenditure.⁷²⁾

To judge the standard of living at Genadendal the following fact should be considered. The village grew haphazardly, mainly on the sides of the valley⁷³⁾ so that the lower lying valuable irrigable garden land could be reserved for cultivation.⁷⁴⁾ It differs in this respect from its sister stations at Anon⁷⁵⁾ and Elim. Lichtenstein described the village as follows:

"Zweihundert Häuser und Hütten mit daran stossenden kleinen Gärten, in ordentliche Strassen vertheilt, gaben diesem Ort vollkommen das Ansehen eines europäischen Dorfes..."⁷⁶⁾

A description of the village at the end of the century shows that it had changed little:

66) Theal, Records, vi, p. 347.

67) Miss. Reg. Jan., 1821: Survey of Protestant Missions.

68) P. Accs. CXLVIII, 1835: Hallbeck, G., May, 1835.

69) Ibid., CCLXXI, 1866: W.F. Bechler, 9th Mo., 1866.

70) Ibid., No. 335, 1882: Retrospect of Moravian Missions in the last 150 years.

71) Ibid., No. 4, 1890: The Western Province.

72) Ibid., No. 6, 1891: Appeal on behalf of the new church, A.G. Hettasch.

73) C.I. Latrobe, p. 94.

74) P. Accs. CCLXI, 1863: Description of G., - Rev. J. Murray.

75) Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 329.

76) H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 246-7. (The two hundred houses and huts with the adjoining small garden plots, divided neatly into streets, gave the place the atmosphere of a European village.)

"The village, with its fruitful gardens, wonderfully beautiful just now in their fresh young verdure, adjoins the missionary quarter, and fills the basin of the valley in every direction. Genadendal has three thousand inhabitants, and is divided into several sections, Sevenfontein, Klipperstrasse, Vlei, Bergstrasse and Kornlandskloof....⁷⁷⁾

The number of houses at Bavianskloof in 1799 was 228, these were probably huts.⁷⁸⁾ Latrobe counted 256 "cottages and huts."⁷⁹⁾ In 1820 there are 288 houses and 90 of these are walled.⁸⁰⁾ During the critical years^{of 1822} and after the numbers of dwellings decreased appreciably. In that year there were only 246 houses of which 85 were walled.⁸¹⁾ This tendency continued till 1826, when there were only 219 houses in the village.⁸²⁾ After that, however, there was a gradual increase⁸³⁾ until in 1833 there are again 253 dwellings of which 117 are walled.⁸⁴⁾ The emancipation of the slaves had an effect on the number of houses in the village. In 1847 there were 260 larger and smaller houses and 217 huts.⁸⁵⁾ There was no great increase after this and in 1875 a government census showed that there were 482 houses.⁸⁶⁾

There were thus two types of houses in the village. In 1798 they were described as follows:

"The huts were of clay, thatched with rushes, some square as in Ireland, others round in the original Hottentot fashion, and brought up to the top without rushes, a hole only being left in the middle to serve as a vent, and another for the door."⁸⁷⁾

The huts were built in the native manner by driving poles into the ground in a circle, twelve feet in diameter, bending them and tying them at the top so that the centre of the framework was five feet from the ground. This structure was covered with matting and skins and it was necessary to

77) P. Accs. No. 13, 1893: Visitation by Br. Buchner 1892-3.

78) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Jul., 1799 - Jan., 1800.

79) C.I. Latrobe, p. 92.

80) Nchr. 3. 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai, 1821.

81) *ibid.*, 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

82) *ibid.*, 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

83) *ibid.*, 5. 1829: Ber. G., 1827; *ibid.*, 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828; *ibid.*, 3. 1833: Ber. G., 1830; *ibid.*, 1. 1834: Ber. G., 1831.

84) Exs. P. Accs. Diary G., 1833.

85) Nchr. 2. 1849: Ber. G., 1847.

86) P. Accs. No. 308, 1875: Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1875.

87) Lady Anne Barnard, p. 185.

creep into the hole left on the one side.⁸⁸⁾ Most of the walled houses were probably built in the following manner. Clay was broken up with plough and harrow. The material won in this way was drawn to the building site by oxen in a bullock's hide. The clay was then formed into bricks and the wall built a foot high on the first day after which it had to be left to dry for a day. The wall was gradually raised until the roof could be put on. In some cases the gable ends were built with burnt bricks.⁸⁹⁾ The cottages were usually divided into two apartments, one for cooking and sleeping and the other for storing field and garden products.⁹⁰⁾ Some of the houses were not very well built and in some cases collapsed, injuring the inmates.⁹¹⁾ The building of solid houses was subsidized by the mission from money received in the difficult years of 1822-3. Nevertheless many of the houses were still of rushes and clay in 1842.⁹²⁾ The subsidizing of houses was continued till 1853 when the money was appropriated for schools and churches.⁹³⁾

Some of the better off residents had fairly respectable houses. Lichtenstein says that the chapel-servants, usually the most well to do, had houses very similar to those of the colonists on the border.⁹⁴⁾ Lady Duff Gordon lived in such a house in 1862:

"The cottage was thus:- One large hall; my bedroom on the right, Sally's (her English maid) on the left; the kitchen behind me; Miss Reitz behind Sally; mud floors daintily washed over with fresh cow-dung; ceiling of big rafters just as they had grown, on which rested bamboo canes close together a c r o s s the rafters, and bound together between each with transverse bamboo - a pretty b e e h i v e effect; at top, mud again, and then a high thatched roof and a loft or solder for forage, &c., the walls of course mud, very thick and white washed."⁹⁵⁾

In 1873 a house was built by one of the inhabitants which cost £100 and for which the owner paid cash!⁹⁶⁾ But these were exceptions.

88) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

89) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

90) *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1799.

91) P. Accs. LXI: Diary G., Mch., - Jul., 1810.

92) Mchr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

93) P. Accs. CCXX, 1853: C.R. Kölbinger, G., 12th Jun., 1853.

94) H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 252.

95) Lady Duff Gordon p. 102-3.

96) Mchr. 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

The mud houses sometimes did not stand up to heavy rain as in April, 1878.

"Trübselig sah es nach diesem Regen in den Häusern aus, deren Dächer in schlechtem Zustand waren. In mehreren derselben war kein trocknes Plätzchen zu finden; ganze Familien hatten diese Nacht nicht viel besser, denn in Freien zugebracht. Gar kläglich hatten es die Kranken, die in solchen Häusern lagen. Besonders traurig sah es aus in dem Häuschen von Benjamin und Rosalie January. Dasselbe ist kaum hoch genug, um darin stehen zu können; ein schrecklicher Geruch drang den Eintretenden entgegen; der Fußboden war ein Sumpf." ⁹⁷⁾

Lady Anne Barnard tells us what the inside of the simpler Hottentot huts looked like.

"I entered one or two of the round ones, - the Hottentots were out, working in the field; furniture there was none, a few sticks were in the centre to boil their kettle, and tied to the sticks of the roof were a few skins, some calabashes, an iron pot, a couple of spoons made of bits of wood, to the end of which a deep shell was spliced and tied on, some calabash ladles and bowls." ⁹⁸⁾

The fireplaces were open and raised a foot above the ground. In the evening the inhabitants of the dwelling sat on the raised fire place feeding the fire with twigs. As a result children often fell in and were burned, sometimes even to death. ⁹⁹⁾

In 1862, the cottages were described thus:

"All were neat and clean, with good dressers of crockery; the v e r y poorest, like the worst in Weybridge sandpits; but they had no glass windows, only a wooden shutter, and no doors; a calico curtain, or a sort of hurdle supplying its place." ¹⁰⁰⁾

The general impression the houses made on a visitor in 1892 is not much different:

"The houses of the natives ... have mud walls.

Mother Earth also constitutes the floor. Though they are all of the same primitive material, and but one storey in height, one sees great variety, for example, in the number, size and form of the windows. Some indeed have no windows whatever,

⁹⁷⁾ Nchr. 5. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878. (It was miserable after this rain in those houses with defective roofs. In many of them there was not a dry place to be found; whole families passed the night not much better than if they had been out in the open. The sick in such houses were in a sorrowful condition. It was especially bad in the hut of Benjamin and Rosalie January. It is hardly high enough to stand upright; a terrible stench meets the visitor; the floor was a morass.)

⁹⁸⁾ Lady Anne Barnard p. 185.

⁹⁹⁾ Nchr. 5. 1852: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1851.

¹⁰⁰⁾ Lady Duff Gordon, p. 103.

but receive air and light only through the door. ... Their dwellings consist of one living room, one sleeping room and a kitchen; most of them are kept neat, and furnished with tables and clean beds."¹⁰¹⁾

When the missionaries arrived the Hottentots were clothed in sheepskins. One small skin was worn around the waist while another, which was discarded for work, was draped over the shoulders. Their children were carried on the backs of the mothers under the cover of a sheepskin held up by a thong. Both sexes carried bags made of gazelle skins for tobacco-pipe, flint and steel. There was vermin in the sheepskin clothing of the Hottentots. The only way they knew to get rid of it was to beat the skins with sticks. The missionaries tried to promote cleanliness among their charges.¹⁰²⁾ They continued to wear their sheepskins on weekdays, but soon they began to wear clothes they received from the farmer's wives in lieu of payment on Sundays.¹⁰³⁾ Thus when in 1798 Lady Anne Barnard attended an evening service on a week-day, the congregation were all "dressed in the skins of animals."¹⁰⁴⁾ On a Sunday about half of the three hundred people in the congregation were dressed "in coarse printed cottons, and the other half in sheep-skin dresses,..."¹⁰⁵⁾ Lichtenstein noticed that the well to do wore European dress whilst the poorer class still wore skins;

"Sie gehen nach Bauernart in leinernen Wämsern und ledernen Beinkleidern und tragen Hüte, die Frauen in wollenen Röcken, baumwollenen Camisolen mit langen Ärmeln und Hauben. Die niedrigere, rohere Klasse kleidet sich zwar noch in Felle, doch wird durchaus auf Reinlichkeit gehalten und keine Nacktheit geduldet."¹⁰⁶⁾

In Latrobe's time some men were still clothed in karosses and leather aprons. Most of the residents wore European dress for the Sunday services and even dressed their children in linen and calico shirts and dresses.¹⁰⁷⁾ In 1842 the

¹⁰¹⁾ P. Accs. No. 13, 1893: Visitation by Br. Buchner 1892-3

¹⁰²⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

¹⁰³⁾ *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. 1795.

¹⁰⁴⁾ Lady Anne Barnard, p. 180.

¹⁰⁵⁾ J. Barrow, I, p. 310.

¹⁰⁶⁾ E. Lichtenstein, I, p. 252. (They dress after the 'peasant' fashion in linen jackets and leather trousers and carry hats, the women go in woollen skirts, and cotton blouses with long sleeves and bonnets. The lower, more primitive class still wear skins, but cleanliness is expected of them and no nakedness is permitted.)

¹⁰⁷⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 93-4.

Brethren themselves complain that the boys often wore nothing but a shirt or a pair of trousers, the girls only a dress of cotton and they blame the inhabitants' lack of thrift for this.¹⁰⁸⁾ In 1862 Lady Duff Gordon was impressed with the smartness of dress of the congregation and she praises the cleanliness of the residents.

"Also they are very clean people, addicted to tubbing more than any others. ... They are also far cleaner in their huts than any but the v e r y b e s t English poor."¹⁰⁹⁾

The efforts of the Brethren to teach their wards cleanliness had thus had a measure of success.

Buchner was surprised at the number of people at Genadendal who suffered from lung and bronchial diseases. He ascribed the frequency of this affliction to their irregular habits of living.¹¹⁰⁾ Presumably a great number were affected by tuberculosis.¹¹¹⁾ Genadendal was a haven for lepers as late as 1861.¹¹²⁾ The village was occasionally ravaged by epidemics and a disease, apparently typhoid fever caused the death of 162 Hottentots in 1800.¹¹³⁾ From 1865 to 1867 the same disease returned. It had a disastrous effect on the income of the village as farmers would not employ labourers from Genadendal for fear of infection.¹¹⁴⁾ The first severe outbreak of small-pox in the settlement was in 1858.¹¹⁵⁾ In spite of the efforts of Brother Roser, who had 3,000 inhabitants vaccinated in the course of a few days,¹¹⁶⁾ there were 29 cases of whom 10 were fatal.¹¹⁷⁾ There was a second outbreak of this disease in 1882 when the 'Drummond Castle' brought the infection to the Cape. There were 235 cases of whom 64 died. The missionaries had to organize relief. Some colonists sent help, five sent

¹⁰⁸⁾ Nchr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

¹⁰⁹⁾ Lady Duff Gordon, p. 104-5.

¹¹⁰⁾ P. Accs. No. 13, 1893: Visitation of Br. Buchner 1892-3

¹¹¹⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1799; P. Accs. CCXXIII, 1854: D.W. Suhl, G., 21st Dec., 1853; Nchr. 1. 1831; Ber. G., 1828.

¹¹²⁾ Nchr. 11. & 12. 1862: Ber. G., 1861; *ibid.*, 3. 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai, 1821; *ibid.*, 6. 1820: Ber. G., Okt. - Dez., 1818.

¹¹³⁾ Exs. P. Accs. C.L. Rose, 24th Aug., 1800; Nchr. 3. 1837: Bericht von Br. Hallbeck.

¹¹⁴⁾ Nchr. 6. 1867: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1865; *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866; *ibid.*, 2. 1869: Ber. G., 1867.

¹¹⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 5. 1860; Ber. G., Aug. - Dez., 1858.

¹¹⁶⁾ P. Accs. CCXLIII, 1859: Roser, G., 12th Nov., 1858.

¹¹⁷⁾ *ibid.*, CCXLIV, 1859: C.R. K3lbing, G., 19th May, 1859.

money and one²/₄ wagon load of fish. A member of the Upper House persuaded the government to place the sum of £70 at the disposal of the missionaries.¹¹⁸⁾ Shortly before Genadendal had suffered from an attack of epidemic dysentery which started in 1880¹¹⁹⁾ and raged throughout 1881.¹²⁰⁾ The village also experienced epidemics of whooping-cough and measles. The missionaries blamed the careless nursing of the children by their parents as the cause of many ~~rather~~ deaths.¹²¹⁾

In good years the diet of the inhabitants of Genadendal was fairly balanced. The staple food was wheat as is evident from the anxiety with which the missionaries followed the price of corn.¹²²⁾ In 1818 Hallbeck calculated the consumption of a thrifty family with two non-earning children. He found that their weekly average consumption was one 'emmer' (56½ litres) of wheat, 4 lbs. meat, 3-4 lbs. rice, and 2-3 lbs mutton fat besides the vegetables that they produced in their garden.¹²³⁾ In a good fruit season Genadendal had an abundance of deciduous and citrus fruit.¹²⁴⁾ The inhabitants were, however, not at a loss when the harvest of wheat was bad. They fell back on 'veldkos' and gathered edible bulbs.¹²⁵⁾ In 1801 during a famine the inhabitants of the village had to fall back on acorns and roots for subsistence.¹²⁶⁾ There were also wild almonds which when cooked were nourishing. In the difficult 1820ies these were an important part of the diet of the villagers.¹²⁷⁾ When hard pressed the inhabitants of Genadendal migrated to the coast where they could subsist on fish.¹²⁸⁾

A large amount of the food supply of the Hottentots

118) Nchr. 10. 1883: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1882.

119) *ibid.*, 7. 1881: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1880; *ibid.*, 8. 1881: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1880.

120) Nchr. Nov., 1882: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1881.

121) *ibid.*, 5. 1857: Ber. G., 1855; *ibid.*, 1. 1862: Ber. G., 1860.

122) e.g. P. Accs. CCLXXVI, 1867: Diary Berea, Jul. - Dec., 1866.

123) CO 102, Answers to Queries by H.P. Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

124) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 103.

125) CO 102, Answers to Queries by H.P. Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

126) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bkif. 1801.

127) Nchr. 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

128) *ibid.*, (as note 127); *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

came from the gardens and arable land of the settlement, especially after they had learnt the rudiments of agriculture from the Brethren. From the very earliest beginnings, however, there was a certain amount of migratory labour, especially during the harvest season. As the population increased and the demand for clothing and other commodities grew the proportion of people, especially men, who earned their living outside the settlement increased.

The labourers from Genadendal enjoyed a very good reputation for diligence and industriousness among the European population.¹²⁹⁾ In 1798 the Brethren claimed that the farmers preferred to employ Christian Hottentots from Genadendal.¹³⁰⁾ A certain section of the farmers no longer thought so in 1856.¹³¹⁾

The labourers from the institution probably merited the reputation they enjoyed. Hallbeck was of the opinion that the converts of other societies were probably as diligent.¹³²⁾ Another reason for their dependability was that the Genadendalers hailed from a more settled community than existed on stations nearer to the border of the Colony. The section of the Cape where it was situated was tranquil.

The men who left Genadendal to seek work found employment mainly as agricultural labourers until after the discovery of diamonds in the Kimberley area in 1869.

In 1797 Barrow stated that "some hire themselves out by the week, month, or year, to the neighbouring peasantry."¹³³⁾ Soon there was a regular exodus during the ploughing and harvest months.¹³⁴⁾ The missionaries realised that the Hottentots were forced to leave the settlement in order to earn a living, but they were of the opinion that with a little more diligence they could have subsisted on the land at the institution.¹³⁵⁾ During the ploughing season mainly men went out to work.¹³⁶⁾ In April, 1825 out of 1242 inhabitants only 923 were present, but of the 320 persons absent half were

¹²⁹⁾ Theal, Records, ix, p. 74ff.

¹³⁰⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Kohnhammer to Secretary of the Society, G., 1st Jul., 1798.

¹³¹⁾ C. of G. H. Interrogation of farmers. 1856.

¹³²⁾ Select Committee Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

¹³³⁾ J. Barrow, I, p. 309-10.

¹³⁴⁾ Theal Records, ix, p. 74ff.

¹³⁵⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Ekkl. Nov. - Dec., 1801; *ibid.*, Journal Ekkl. May, 1803 - Nov. 1804.

¹³⁶⁾ Nchr. 6. 1848: Ber. G., 1846.

¹³⁷⁾ *ibid.*, I. 1828: Ber. G., 1825.

¹³⁸⁾ *ibid.*, I. 1848: Ber. G., 1846; *ibid.*, II. & 12. 1862:

away for the ploughing season only.¹³⁷⁾ At harvest increasingly large numbers of both sexes and all ages left the village leaving behind only those who had to take care of the gardens. The harvesting usually began in November but sometimes already in October.¹³⁸⁾ The labourers returned in the beginning of January. The schools and classes for instruction were normally resumed in the second week of January.¹³⁹⁾ Difficult times caused an increase in the number of absentee labourers. They also increased the length of time they stayed away as then they went to more distant parts.¹⁴⁰⁾ Bad harvests affected the labourers in a two-fold way: their own gardens produced little and the amount of work they were able to get outside the settlement was reduced.¹⁴¹⁾

Before 1828 the Genadendalers must have been in a better position to bargain for wages than the Hottentots who lived on the farms.¹⁴²⁾ In 1823 labourers on the farms received 14d. a day,¹⁴³⁾ and in 1843 they received one Ryksdaler or 15d. They received besides meat three times a day and wine five times a day.¹⁴⁴⁾ Some of the labourers, however, were in debt to the colonists and had to work off their debt throughout one season.¹⁴⁵⁾ In some cases wine was given instead of money.¹⁴⁶⁾ After 1869 the wages ~~by~~ paid by mines and in the railways proved more attractive than those paid by farmers.¹⁴⁷⁾

After 1870, other factors aggravated the situation. Agricultural machinery was being introduced into the Western Cape. This meant less work on the farms.¹⁴⁸⁾ Besides, farm work did not afford a steady income right through the year.¹⁴⁹⁾

¹³⁷⁾ Nchr. 1. 1828: Ber. G., 1825.

¹³⁸⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1846; *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1862: Ber. G., 1861.

¹³⁹⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1821: Ber. G., Jan. - März, 1819.

¹⁴⁰⁾ Miss. Reg. Apr., 1823: Diary G., 1822.

¹⁴¹⁾ Nchr. 6. 1821: Ber. G., Jan. - März, 1819.

¹⁴²⁾ J.S. Marais, p. 152-3.

¹⁴³⁾ Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 330.

¹⁴⁴⁾ Nchr. 1. 1846: Ber. G., 1843.

¹⁴⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 2. 1840: Ber. G., 1837.

¹⁴⁶⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1888: Ber. G., 1886.

¹⁴⁷⁾ *ibid.*, 4. 1894: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1892.

¹⁴⁸⁾ F. Accs. No. 349, 1885: Diary G., Jul., 1884 - Jul., 1885; Nchr. 1. 1888: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1886.

¹⁴⁹⁾ Nchr. 4. 1894: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1892.

When, as in the 1880ies, little work could be had on the railways, Genadendal suffered. There was an arrear in tax of about 5,000 Marks (£250) in that year.¹⁵⁰⁾

The first example of non-agricultural work outside Genadendal was found by the young men on the road to Grahamstown in 1845. They received a Ryksdaler (1/6) a day plus food,¹⁵¹⁾ Perhaps the soldiers might be classified as migratory labour, although they did not always get regularly paid. It was different with the wagon drivers in 1880-1 who worked for remuneration only.¹⁵²⁾

The discovery of diamonds in the Kimberley area opened up new opportunities for work outside Genadendal. Already in 1869 some young men left for the mines.¹⁵³⁾

The male population of Genadendal found a remunerative field of work when the railway from Wellington to the diamond fields was built from 1873 onwards.¹⁵⁴⁾ In 1876 there were as many as 400 labourers working on the line beyond Worcester. They earned from 2 to 5 shillings a day.¹⁵⁵⁾ The missionaries estimated that until the railway had reached Beaufort West, when a number of the villagers were discharged, about £1,000 reached Genadendal annually from the railways. Of course not all the money the labourers earned was sent to the village.¹⁵⁶⁾ Conditions along the line were in some cases terrible. Some of the contractors who employed Genadendalers exploited them ruthlessly with the result that some labourers did not have the money to pay for the return journey from Beaufort West to Genadendal. They had to walk back a distance of 500 miles!¹⁵⁷⁾

As the line advanced into the interior it became increasingly difficult for men from Genadendal to find work on the railway. The exodus to the towns, especially Cape Town increased correspondingly. There were sufficient people in Cape Town for the erection of the Moravian church in 1886.¹⁵⁸⁾

¹⁵⁰⁾ Nchr. 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1886.

¹⁵¹⁾ P. Accs. CXCV, 1847: Diary G., 1845; Nchr. 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

¹⁵²⁾ Nchr. März 1882: Ber. G., Jan - Jun., 1881.

¹⁵³⁾ *ibid.*, 4. 1873: Ber. G., 1871.

¹⁵⁴⁾ *ibid.*, 9. 1874: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun. 1873.

¹⁵⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1877: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1876.

¹⁵⁶⁾ *ibid.*, 7. 1881: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1880.

¹⁵⁷⁾ *ibid.*, 3. 1885: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1883; *ibid.*, 5. 1885: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1884.

¹⁵⁸⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1888: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1886.

After that year the number of people going to Cape Town increased.¹⁵⁹⁾

This, as has been pointed out, affected the ratio of men to women in the latter's favour. In 1826 at the festival for married couples 99 pairs took part, three single men (whose wives were absent) and 40 single women (whose husbands were absent).¹⁶⁰⁾ In 1880 the number of men absent had increased and the ratio of men to women among the communicants on the 25th January, was one to two. It is significant that most of the harvest workers had returned by this date.¹⁶¹⁾ In the later 1880ies, however, women began to leave the village in increasing numbers to seek work.¹⁶²⁾

When the Brethren arrived at Baviaanskloof in 1792 the Hottentots were essentially cattle herding nomads. The missionaries were of the opinion that they would have to be taught agriculture. This was probably a realistic policy as the Hottentots were increasingly losing land in which they could move around with their herds.

There were many difficulties in the way of teaching the Hottentots agriculture and a settled life. It was difficult to procure sufficient tools. These could only be had in Cape Town and there only at exorbitant prices. The missionaries lent out tools to the Hottentots. Some of these had been acquired from men like Martin Schmidt, their host in Cape Town, who presented them with 50 spades.¹⁶³⁾ However, by 1799 the Brethren had had some success. Peter Blessier reaped 25 bushels of wheat for every one he sowed. Most of the others reaped wheat twentyfold that year, and the harvest of maize and vegetables was plentiful. Imitating the missionaries they planted fruit trees and vegetables such as beans, carrots, and potatoes. The missionaries taught them to discard their aversion for pork. They were beginning to keep pigs by 1799 and these provided them with more fat and more meat than their sheep. In spite of this the missionaries complain that "A lazy heathen nation is not soon trained to industry." Yet they are pleased that only a few lived on 'veldkos' and that most have accepted the idea of earning something with the work of their hands.¹⁶⁴⁾ The Brethren

¹⁵⁹⁾ Henr. 3. 1889: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1888.

¹⁶⁰⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

¹⁶¹⁾ *ibid.*, 7. 1881: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1880.

¹⁶²⁾ *ibid.*, 3. 1889: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1888.

¹⁶³⁾ Exs. P. Acca. Journal Bklf. Jul., 1799 - Jan., 1800.

¹⁶⁴⁾ *ibid.*, Journal Bklf. Jan. - Jun., 1799.

helped them in preparing the land when they could. The fruitful land which reverted to the mission in 1802 was ditched by the Hottentots themselves. The missionaries organised the communal work and provided the workers with food.¹⁶⁵⁾ The Hottentots then had sufficient land for gardens and fields for wheat or maize.¹⁶⁶⁾

Visitors to Baviaanskloof were unanimous in recording the success of the Brethren in teaching their charges the rudiments of agriculture. Lady Anne Barnard noticed that the small gardens of the Hottentots "were not very neat, but each one had something growing in it."¹⁶⁷⁾ Lichtenstein describes the agricultural system on the station as follows:

"Eine jede der Hottentotten Familien hat ausser dem Garten hinter dem Hause, in welchem sie zur Anpflanzung von Gemüse und Obstbäumen angewiesen werden, einen gewissen Antheil an den fruchtbaren Ländereien dieser Niederung, dessen Grösse sich nach der Anzahl Personen bestimmt die davon ernährt werden sollen. Eine jede muss diesen Acker nach Anweisung der Väter selbst bestellen und erhält Vorschub an Ackergeräth und Saatkorn. Der Fleissige wird durch einen Zuwachs seines Gebietes belohnt, dem Nachlässigen ein Theil davon wiederum entzogen."¹⁶⁸⁾

The way in which the missionaries inculcated industriousness was by rewarding the diligent with an increase in land and punishing the indolent by a diminution of their lots.¹⁶⁹⁾ This procedure was incorporated in the Rules and Regulations of the place¹⁷⁰⁾ and was still enforced in 1896.¹⁷¹⁾

Agriculture was practiced in two forms at Genadendal. There were the gardens in the valley of the Baviaanskloof river, and the wheat fields in the valley of the Sonderend River. If a garden was in good order the owner was reliable.¹⁷²⁾

¹⁶⁵⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bklf. Apr. - Jun., 1802.

¹⁶⁶⁾ *ibid.*, Reports on Baviaanskloof, Feb., 1803.

¹⁶⁷⁾ Lady Anne Barnard, p. 184.

¹⁶⁸⁾ H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 252; (Every Hottentot family has, besides the garden behind the house, in which they are instructed to plant vegetables and fruit-trees, a certain portion of the fertile arable land in this valley, the size of which is determined by the number of people who are to be fed from it. Every family must work this field under the instruction of the Fathers and receives assistance with implements and seedcorn. The diligent are rewarded with an increase of their land, while the indolent lose parts of it.)

¹⁶⁹⁾ CO 102, Answers to Queries, Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

¹⁷⁰⁾ See Appendix A, II, 4, 10.

¹⁷¹⁾ P. Accs. No. 27. 1896: A Moravian Settlement - E. Jacob.

¹⁷²⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 93.

According to Hallbeck people who lived on the produce of their gardens, fields and livestock had the best houses and were in the best circumstances.¹⁷³⁾ This was no longer the case towards the end of the period under discussion. But Buchner was of the opinion that the gardens could, if properly worked produce enough for the inhabitants to have food and to make them able to exchange the excess for other necessities of life.¹⁷⁴⁾

The main crops in the gardens were beans, and potatoes. In the beginning maize likewise was cultivated in the gardens.¹⁷⁵⁾ The orchards contained peach, pear, apricot and apple trees, as well as orange trees.¹⁷⁶⁾ In January the fruit harvest was usually in full swing and the inhabitants were busy drying their fruit on racks in front of their houses. The fruit crop was usually so abundant at harvest time that the inhabitants subsisted almost exclusively on it. Only the more well-to-do supplemented their diet with fish.¹⁷⁷⁾ The accounts give crop figures for two years, presumably average years.

	1864 - 1865	1874 ¹⁷⁸⁾
Beans:.....	167 Muids.	
or:.....	501 Bushels.	521 Bushels.
potatoes:.....	50 Muids.	
or:.....	150 Bushels.	300 Bushels.
dried fruit:...	260 Muids.	
or:...	780 Bushels.	19670 lbs.
tobacco:.....	170 lbs.	45 lbs.

To make the gardens sufficiently productive they had to be irrigated. As we have seen the missionaries irrigated their garden from the very beginning. The method was extended to the Hottentot gardens later on. In 1822 the diary remarks that by the distribution of water from the mill course the gardens had become very productive.¹⁷⁹⁾ When rust attacked the wheat in 1826 the irrigation system was improved by building three dams. The work on these dams was paid for by the Mission Directory.¹⁸⁰⁾ In 1834 a suggestion made by the missionaries to pay one shilling annually for the repair of the water furrows was accepted.¹⁸¹⁾ In 1861 a dam 20 feet long,

¹⁷³⁾ Select Committee Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

¹⁷⁴⁾ P. Accs. No. 13, 1893: Visitation of Br. Buchner, 1892-3.

¹⁷⁵⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 133.

¹⁷⁶⁾ P. Accs. CCXXIII, 1854: J.C. Breutel to Mission Board. (no date).

¹⁷⁷⁾ Mchr. 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

¹⁷⁸⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1866: Ber. G., 1865; *ibid.*, 3. 1875: Ber. G., 1874. 3 bushels = 1 muid; 1 bushel = 36.3 litres.

¹⁷⁹⁾ Miss. Reg. April 1823: Diary G., 1822.

¹⁸⁰⁾ Mchr. 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dec., 1826.

six feet high and four feet wide was erected for the purpose of irrigation.¹⁸²⁾ In the end the whole village was reticulated with irrigation furrows running to the gardens.¹⁸³⁾

If the gardens had in this manner been protected against droughts, it was much more difficult to protect them against rain and floods. In 1831 and 1839 for instance, floods damaged the gardens and destroyed part of the irrigation dams and furrows.¹⁸⁴⁾ Damage to the irrigation system was always repaired by collective labour.¹⁸⁵⁾ When the crops in the gardens and fields failed, Genadendal had an extremely difficult year. This happened in 1822 when the wheat crop failed and the gardens were inundated.¹⁸⁶⁾ In 1880 the drought even affected the gardens.¹⁸⁷⁾

The whole family was usually engaged in garden work.¹⁸⁸⁾ As in more primitive societies a system of work parties was used. Five or six garden owners would concentrate their efforts on one garden, the owner of that garden providing both food and wine on the days the party worked for him. Then it moved on to the next garden. No wages were paid, the system worked on a basis of reciprocity.¹⁸⁹⁾

In the 1820ies about 130 lots of arable land were allotted to inhabitants. Except in bad years over 100 were used each year. In 1820 it was felt that there was too little arable land available. Consequently one of the villagers rented a considerable piece of ground from a neighbouring farmer large enough for the sowing of 15 muids (sacks) of wheat.¹⁹¹⁾ The lack of arable land is illustrated by the fact that in 1864 only 127 persons worked arable land while 495 persons owned gardens.¹⁹²⁾

They learned ploughing from the Brethren. In July, 1820

181) Nchr. 6. 1836: Ber. G., 1834.

182) P. Accs. COLIII, 1861: F.W. Kuhn, G., 18th Jun., 1861.

183) Ibid., 4. 1890: Son of Dr. Drury, 29th May, 1890.

184) Nchr. 3. 1834: Ber. G., 1831; ibid., 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839.

185) Ibid., 3. 1838: Ber. G., 1835; ibid., 1. 1843: Ber. G., 1840.

186) P. Accs. Moravian Missions &c. Hallbeck, G., 26th Aug., 1822.

187) Nchr. 7. 1881: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1880.

188) CO 102 Answers to Queries, Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

189) Nchr. 11. 1877: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1876.

190) Ibid., 5. 1823: Ber. G., Okt., 1821 - Mai 1822.

191) Miss. Reg. Apr., 1821: Hallbeck, G., Jul., Aug., 1820.

192) Nchr. 6. 1866: Ber. G., 1865.

Hallbeck saw seventeen ploughs in action. Presumably the tenants of fields co-operated in ploughing.¹⁹³⁾ The ploughs manufactured in the smithy were suited to conditions at the Cape where an imported cast iron plough was difficult to repair.¹⁹⁴⁾ The missionaries also taught the use of manure. Gradually the Hottentots learned to put these lessons into practice.

"There is a want of manure, and therefore, the land must be left to rest after two or three years' culture. The Hottentots have, however, endeavoured to remedy the evil, by putting straw into the beast-kraal, and otherwise taking better care to collect manure, to which, in former times, they could never be brought to attend."¹⁹⁵⁾

By these methods the inhabitants were able to produce sufficient cereal crops. In 1824 a villager who had sown half a muid harvested 35 muids (sacks).¹⁹⁶⁾ In 1828 when the government provided seed corn because the crops had failed the previous year, the inhabitants gained 113 muid from 15 muid of seed corn.¹⁹⁷⁾ The detailed returns for the years 1864 and 1874 are given below.

	1864 - 1865	1874
Wheat:.....	339 Muid (sacks)	
or:.....	1017 Bushels.	916 Bushels.
maize:.....	337 Muid.	
or:.....	1011 Bushels.	838 Bushels.
Barley:.....	76 Muid.	-
rye:.....	53 Muid.	-
Oats:.....	3 Muid.	-

1818 to 1828 was the most disastrous decade for agriculture at Genadendal. The harvest in 1818 had been bad, and the price of corn very high.¹⁹⁹⁾ The harvest was attacked by rust and although the losses were not in 1819 brought some relief.²⁰⁰⁾ The 1820 harvest at Genadendal was attacked by rust and although the losses were not as great as in other parts of the Colony, the price of corn affected the economy of Genadendal detrimentally.²⁰¹⁾ The missionaries had to

¹⁹³⁾ Miss. Reg. Apr., 1821: Hallbeck, G., Jul., 1820.

¹⁹⁴⁾ F. Acon. CXCVIII, 1848: E.R. Esling, G., 26th Oc., 1847.

¹⁹⁵⁾ Miss. Reg. Apr., 1821: Hallbeck, G., Sept., 1820.

¹⁹⁶⁾ Nchr. 1, 1826: Ber. G., 1824.

¹⁹⁷⁾ ibid., 1, 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

¹⁹⁸⁾ ibid., 6, 1866: ~~1865~~ Ber. G., 1865; ibid., 3, 1875: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1874.

¹⁹⁹⁾ ibid., 6, 1819: Ber. G., Jan. - Sept., 1818.

²⁰⁰⁾ Miss. Reg. Oct., 1820: Déary G., Jan. - Jul., 1819.

²⁰¹⁾ Nchr. 3, 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai, 1821.

provide corn at low prices for the 1821 ploughing season.²⁰²⁾ In that year the effect of both drought and rust on the wheat in the whole of the Colony was disastrous. The missionaries feared a famine for Genadendal.²⁰³⁾ There was such a lack of provisions in 1822 that the Brethren had to use money received from the Mission Board to feed the destitute. They provided three meals a week for a month with this money, but otherwise the Coloureds were forced to eat grass! The flooding of the gardens in that year brought greater misery.²⁰⁴⁾ The famine became so bad that the government had to remit the taxes and granted 4,000 lbs. of rice and 15 bushels of seed corn for relief.²⁰⁵⁾ This seed corn was sown communally because the individual share was too small to make sowing pay. The harvest in 1822 happened to be fairly good and the price of corn decreased considerably.²⁰⁶⁾ A large sum of money was received as relief from friends overseas, especially from England. This was used to rehabilitate Genadendal. A certain amount was allocated for the purchase of more seed corn to provide the owners of fields with seed corn free of charge on condition that they returned an equal amount in the following year. Another sum was diverted to the smithy to enable it to repair ploughs free of charge. Bullocks were purchased to make ploughing possible for people who had lost draught cattle during the droughts and the famine.²⁰⁷⁾ Unfortunately in 1823 the wheat harvest was almost completely destroyed by rust.²⁰⁸⁾ In 1825 and 1826 rust again destroyed most of their crops.²⁰⁹⁾ After 1826 there was an improvement. The inhabitants had learnt to rely more on their vegetable gardens which were safe from the rust. In 1839 the crops in the 'saailande' were destroyed by rust again.²¹⁰⁾ To-day most of the 'saailande' have fallen into

²⁰²⁾ Nchr. 1. 1823: Ber. G., Apr. - Sept., 1821.

²⁰³⁾ *ibid.*, 5. 1823: Ber. G., Okt., 1821 - Mai, 1822.

²⁰⁴⁾ P. Accs. Moravian Missions &c. Hallbeck, 26th August, 1822. The Missionaries let the receivers of charity do some small task as for instance improving the irrigation furrows etc. before they were fed.

²⁰⁵⁾ Nchr. 5. 1823: Ber. G., Okt., 1821 - Mai, 1822.

²⁰⁶⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

²⁰⁷⁾ P. Accs. Moravian Mission &c. Hallbeck, 29th April, 1824, Nchr. 1. 1825: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1823.

²⁰⁸⁾ Nchr. 1. 1825: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1823.

²⁰⁹⁾ P. Accs. CK, 1826: Hallbeck, G., 16th Nov., 1825; Nchr. 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1826.

²¹⁰⁾ Nchr. 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839.

disuse.²¹¹⁾

Most of the land pertaining to the institution was in fact unsuitable for agriculture and could not be improved with the means the missionaries had at their disposal.²¹²⁾ The Hottentots who resorted to Genadendal brought their cattle and their sheep with them and the land soon became overstocked.²¹³⁾ The pasturage, remaining undivided, was used communally. The missionaries tried to get the stock owners to contribute towards the wages of a cattle-herd in order that the children would not be used for that purpose and consequently miss school. But it became difficult to collect the necessary money.²¹⁴⁾

In spite of the difficulty of keeping cattle in the Cape Colony especially at Genadendal, Genadendalers had a fairly large number of cattle. One of the reasons was that the Coloureds as a matter of prestige liked to own a span of oxen.²¹⁵⁾

	1843	1865	1874 ²¹⁶⁾
Cattle:.....	287	495*	400
Horses:.....	64	67	23
Cape Sheep:....	(50)	11	-
Merinos:.....	-	2758	2531
Pigs:.....	150	818	321
Goats:.....	550	554	440.

*of these 230 were oxen.

The figures reveal that merino sheep were successfully introduced at Genadendal in the second half of the century. Genadendal's only real money product was in fact wool and the production figures for 1864-5 and 1874 are as follows:

1864-5.....2937 lbs.²¹⁷⁾
1875.....6596 lbs.

There can hardly have been any wool production before the 1850ies.

Genadendal was not a favourable environment for cattle or horses. Their numbers were often depleted by droughts, floods and pests. In 1822 the stock owners lost or had to

²¹¹⁾ Information from Rev. L.R. Schmidt.

²¹²⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 119-20.

²¹³⁾ Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 329.

²¹⁴⁾ Nehr. 2. 1847: Ber. G., 1844.

²¹⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1849: Ber. G., 1843.

²¹⁶⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1849: Ber. G., 1843; *ibid.*, 6. 1866: Ber. G., 1865; *ibid.*, 3. 1875: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1875.

²¹⁷⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1866: Ber. G., 1865; *ibid.*, 3. 1875: Ber. G., 1874

²¹⁸⁾

slaughter 200 out of 400 of their cattle.²¹⁸⁾ In 1828 it was again necessary to slaughter the weak animals because of the drought,²¹⁹⁾ and the conditions in 1860 affected stock owners in a similar manner.²²⁰⁾

In 1839 an epidemic caused Genadendal to lose a large number of horses.²²¹⁾ In 1854 a lung disease destroyed many cattle. In the following year a similar disease killed between 60 and 80 horses.²²²⁾ In the year 1877 a cattle disease destroying cattle raged in Genadendal while it was suffering under the effects of a drought.²²³⁾

The description of the Genadendal agricultural system is sufficient proof that the village could never have subsisted from the produce of its fields, gardens and livestock alone. Therefore, although there^{was} some private enterprises in the settlement, the missionaries gave employment to some in the workshops. The missionary households provided a certain amount of opportunities for work. Some servants faithfully served in homes and in the communal kitchen for periods of 25 to 30 years.²²⁴⁾ The main source of employment provided by the mission, however, were the trades set up to make the station self-supporting. These have already been mentioned in connection with the mission economy. They also played a part in the economy of the community. The cutlery, for instance, commenced in 1797, employed four men in 1802-3.²²⁵⁾ In 1816 the combined smithy and cutlery had fourteen workers.²²⁶⁾ Some were engaged in vending the knives among the colonists.²²⁷⁾ The tannery was commenced with the special purpose of providing an occupation for some of the Coloured families in the village.²²⁸⁾

Besides aiming at earning a profit for the mission and giving employment to the residents, the industries had as their third aim the training of individual tradesmen, especially during Hallbeck's period. Hallbeck writes that cut-

218) Hchr. 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

219) *ibid.*, 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

220) *ibid.*, 1. 1862: Ber. G., 1860.

221) *ibid.*, 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839.

222) *ibid.*, 5. 1857: Ber. G., 1855.

223) *ibid.*, 10. 1878: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1877.

224) Select Committee, Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

225) H. Lichtenstein, I. p. 249.

226) C.I. Latrobe, p. 396-7.

227) Exs. P. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 6th Oct., 1834.

228) Hchr. 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

lers, smiths, joiners, wheelwrights and shoemakers were 'trained' at Genadendal and that other tradesmen such as masons, carpenters, thatchers, sawyers were encouraged.²²⁹⁾ He also considered the teaching of writing and arithmetic essential in the school 'particularly ... for those who carry on trades on their own accounts.'²³⁰⁾ The main reason for failing to establish an independent class of artisans at Genadendal was that their products found no market. Genadendal produced wagons but not in sufficient numbers to compete with financially stronger undertakings. The village furthermore did not have a large enough population to support a great number of independent tradesmen. The influx of mass produced European goods during the later part of the century destroyed the opportunities for such independent crafts as had previously existed. There had been a few tailors in Genadendal but with the introduction of sewing machines in the 1870ies the women commenced sewing their own clothes.²³¹⁾

From the very beginning there were signs of persons who tried to make money independently by producing articles for sale even though they were only mats and brooms.²³²⁾ Hallbeck referred to wheelwrights, smiths, carpenters, masons in 1819 but he added that labourers were more useful to the institution.²³³⁾ The death of the sole shoemaker for the whole village is mentioned in 1826.²³⁴⁾ Coloured masons and carpenters were employed in the building of the Blim church in 1835.²³⁵⁾ The number of artisans was at its highest in the thirties and forties. In 1836, Hallbeck stated before the Select Committee on Aborigines:-

"At the station where I live (Genadendal) one-half the population subsists by working at mechanical arts, cutlers, smiths, joiners, tanners, masons, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors and so on."²³⁶⁾

Probably many tradesmen also owned gardens and even left the village to work for farmers during the harvest season.

After the middle of the century the number of tradesmen dropped. Occasional references to craftsmen appear in the accounts e.g. to the joiner who replaced the brick

229) Papers Relative to Natives, 1835: Brief Sketch, 1823.

230) Exs. P. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 9th Aug., 1834.

231) Nehr. II. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

232) J. Barrow, I, p. 309-10.

233) CO 102 Answers to Queries - Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

234) Nehr. 2. 1828: Ber. G., Jan. - März, 1826.

235) P. Accs. CALIX, 1835: Hallbeck, G., Jul., 1835.

236) Select Committee, Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

pillars in the church with wooden posts,²³⁷⁾ to the wheelwright, who lost his tools and workshop in a fire in 1848,²³⁸⁾ and to the tailor and the joiner to whom pupils of the Training School were apprenticed in 1885.²³⁹⁾ An Irishman set up in Genadendal as a shoemaker and gave the pupils instruction until he died in 1853.²⁴⁰⁾ In 1856 farmers who were interrogated before a parliamentary committee accused the institution of not training artisans and asserted that there were only one or two smiths in the village.²⁴¹⁾ Actually it is surprising that ~~two~~ smiths could exist beside the smithy of the Brethren. The crafts did not disappear completely. In 1892, when the new church was being erected, carpenters from the village superintended the woodwork.²⁴²⁾

The position as far as shopkeepers in the village were concerned was slightly different. The missionaries did not encourage them especially after they had had an unpleasant experience with a certain Negrini who had been allowed to keep an inn at Genadendal in 1799.²⁴³⁾ They did not prohibit them, however. Both Europeans and Coloureds are known to have carried on business in the village. In 1856 there were four independent retail traders in the village.²⁴⁴⁾ One of these was Christian Heitz²⁴⁵⁾ who later added a wine selling business to his shop and caused much of the trouble during the 1858 elections by opening his house to the election agents.²⁴⁶⁾ He later added an inn in which Lady Duff Gordon lived when she visited Genadendal.²⁴⁷⁾ The missionaries would not have had any objection to sober traders conscious of their responsibility toward the community. They were against traders who exercised a bad moral influence. In 1857 a European shop-keeper from Caledon opened business, but he closed it down again when his clerk defrauded him of £90.²⁴⁸⁾

²³⁷⁾ P. Accs. CXCVI, 1847: G.L. Teutsch, 10th April, 1847.

²³⁸⁾ Nchr. 1. 1850: Ber. G., 1848.

²³⁹⁾ P. Accs. CXXXI, 1856: B. Marx, 26th Sept., 1855.

²⁴⁰⁾ Nchr. 1. 1855; Ber. G., Sept. - Dez., 1853.

²⁴¹⁾ C. of G. H. Interrogation of farmers of the Caledon dist.

²⁴²⁾ P. Accs. No. 14. 1893: A Red Letter Day for Genadendal.

²⁴³⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Jan., 1799; H.G. Schneider, G., p. 175-6.

²⁴⁴⁾ C. of G. H. G.R. Klibing to Select Committee, 15th Apr. 1856

²⁴⁵⁾ Nchr. 5. 1857: Ber. G., 1855.

²⁴⁶⁾ Ibid., 5. 1860; Ber. G., 1858.

²⁴⁷⁾ Lady Duff Gordon, p. 102.

²⁴⁸⁾ P. Accs. CCXXXVII, 1857: D.W. Suhl, G., 3rd Apr. 1857.

A few years later another European, who was living together with a Coloured girl opened a shop in the village and added a wine selling business. This again caused disturbances.²⁴⁹⁾ The missionaries therefore cannot be blamed for trying to protect their wards from such disorderly traders. As the missionaries ran their own shop and provided the Coloureds with wine, it was surmised that they were doing this purely for their own benefit. The attacks levelled against them on this score were found to be unjustified.

"...we found that the charges of making undue profit in the sale of goods, and of selling or distributing improper quantities of liquor, were disproved, and that the candid explanation afforded by the intelligent and active superintendent of the Moravian mission was amply confirmed."²⁵⁰⁾

Such communal work as had to be performed was usually done at the instigation and under the supervision of the missionaries. In 1796 Kühnel cut trees to bridge the rivulets. He easily gathered a number of Hottentots prepared to help without any remuneration.²⁵¹⁾ In September, 1801 after torrential rains Rose set about repairing the roads with the help of all the Hottentot men he could muster.²⁵²⁾ The payment of a shilling for the maintenance of the irrigation furrows decided upon in 1834, was suggested by the Brethren.²⁵³⁾ The collective work on the drainage and irrigation system, in fighting fires, in building churches and repairing property pertaining to the congregation has already been described. Perhaps we may explain the willingness of the Hottentots to work on communal enterprises as a relic of tribal organisation, the missionaries superseding the tribal authorities in the management of collective work.

The best example of such unpaid collective work was the erection of the bridge over the Sonderend River. This bridge was commenced, with the financial help of visitors from India,²⁵⁴⁾ in 1819. A foot bridge 14 feet above the summer level of the water was completed by the end of 1820. Thirty-six Hottentots under the supervision of Brother Beinbrecht broke and transported the necessary stones and worked on the bridge in an exemplary manner.²⁵⁵⁾ Part of the wooden super-

²⁴⁹⁾ Nehr. 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

²⁵⁰⁾ Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 330-1.

²⁵¹⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal, Bklf., Jan. - Spt., 1796.

²⁵²⁾ *ibid.*, Journal Bklf., 1801.

²⁵³⁾ Nehr. 6. 1836: Ber. G., 1834.

²⁵⁴⁾ *ibid.*, 3. 1822: Ber. G., Okt., 1820 - Mai, 1821.

²⁵⁵⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1822: Ber. G., Jan. - Sept. 1820.

structure was torn away in the heavy rains of 1821.²⁵⁶⁾ ~~the~~ As a result the piers were increased in height. The wagon bridge was finally finished in 1823. The work had been done exclusively by inhabitants of the village under the supervision of Beinbrecht. The money had been donated to the institution.²⁵⁷⁾ The maintenance of the bridge long remained the responsibility of the village and had to be undertaken as voluntary work of the villagers.²⁵⁸⁾ In 1861 the Divisional Council paid part of the cost of repair. In 1863 some farmers provided ox-wagons for the transport of earth. These contributions towards the upkeep of the bridge were not nearly sufficient.²⁵⁹⁾ By 1881 the Divisional Council had still not accepted full responsibility for the bridge, although it had always been responsible for the road leading over it.²⁶⁰⁾ The bridge thus became more of a liability than an asset to the community.

Another example of collective work was the planting of trees, commenced in 1818. The men were asked to volunteer and they responded splendidly. It was decided to sell the wood at a very low price to inhabitants who intended to build houses. The money obtained was to benefit the poor box.²⁶¹⁾ This plan was carried out in the year. 1837.²⁶²⁾

The missionaries were in the main responsible for poor relief.²⁶³⁾ Two chapel-servants were made responsible for the poor box.²⁶⁴⁾ The inhabitants of the settlement appreciated their responsibility towards the poor. In 1866 some chapel-servants suggested the granting of maize and beans to the poor as the poor box was empty.²⁶⁵⁾ In bad harvest years, it was impossible for the congregation to support its own poor. In 1878 the missionaries complain that the mission has to care for the poor of the congregation al-

²⁵⁶⁾ Nchr. 3. 1823: Ber. G., Apr. - Spt., 1821.

²⁵⁷⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1825: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1823. The bridge was 227 feet long, and 19 feet above the summer level.

²⁵⁸⁾ Nchr. 2. 1844: Ber. G., 1841; *ibid.*, 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842; P. Accs. CCXXXIII, 1856: C.R. K&Sbing, G., 30th Jul., 1856

²⁵⁹⁾ Nchr. 11. & 12. 1864: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1863.

²⁶⁰⁾ *ibid.*, März, 1882: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1881.

²⁶¹⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1819: Ber. G., 1818.

²⁶²⁾ *ibid.*, 2. 1840: Ber. G., 1837.

²⁶³⁾ P. Accs. LXIV: Diary G., Jul. - Dec., 1811.

²⁶⁴⁾ Appendix A, III, 12.

²⁶⁵⁾ Nchr., 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

though they are really not their responsibility.²⁶⁶⁾

In difficult years the missionaries also provided relief for the community. In 1822 they provided the hungry with meals. The Hottentots were taught to appreciate this by requiring them to improve the irrigation furrows and the burial ground before receiving these meals.²⁶⁷⁾ In 1866 the Moravian institution of a love festival was used to feed the children of Berea.²⁶⁸⁾

The missionaries interceded with the government when supplies ran low or taxes were too heavy. In 1822 after Hallbeck's representations the government granted rice and corn to the settlement.²⁶⁹⁾ In 1816 Latrobe obtained the remission of the poll-tax for the poor.²⁷⁰⁾ In 1866 intercession by the missionaries was no longer effective. They could not obtain a reduction of the road dues in that year.²⁷¹⁾

In Enon~~x~~ the missionaries controlled the farm labourers' wages and thus the whole economy of the community. This was not the case at Genadendal.²⁷²⁾ They were, however, prepared to sell buchu leaves collected by the inhabitants and which had to be sold in bulk.²⁷³⁾ In the difficult economic conditions of the late 1880ies, Brother A.G. Hettasch, tried to introduce new industries to open up new possibilities for earning money for the residents. An appeal was made to friends in Europe to donate £400 so that a castor oil industry and a silk industry could be started.²⁷⁴⁾ In 1886 6,000 castor oil seeds were planted and a plantation of ~~the~~ 12,000 mulberry trees was progressing satisfactorily. In April of the same year castor oil presses arrived.²⁷⁵⁾ To-day there are hardly any relics of these late attempts at making the community self-sufficient again.

²⁶⁶⁾ Nchr. 6. 1879: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1878.

²⁶⁷⁾ P. Accs. Moravian Mission &c. Hallbeck, G., 26th Aug., and 17th Sept., 1822.

²⁶⁸⁾ Nchr. 3. 1868: Ber. Berea, Jun., 1865 - Dez., 1866.

²⁶⁹⁾ *ibid.*, 5. 1823: Ber. G., Okt., 1821 - Mai 1822.

²⁷⁰⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 385, 390.

²⁷¹⁾ Nchr. 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1886.

²⁷²⁾ Theal, Records, xciii, p. 14.

²⁷³⁾ Nchr. 1. 1826: Ber. G., 1824; *ibid.*, 1. 1843: Ber. G., 1840; *ibid.*, 1. 1849: Ber. G., 1845; *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1867: Ber. G., 1866.

²⁷⁴⁾ P. Accs. No. 349, 1885: Genadendal and its Urgent Need of a New Branch of Industry - A.G. Hettasch.

²⁷⁵⁾ Nchr. 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1886.

It is obvious that Genadendal played a part in the economy of the Colony, although its importance decreased from 1840. Genadendal provided a reservoir of labour for the farms in the neighbourhood. The proximity of labour to these farms increased their value in comparison with similar tracts of land elsewhere. The advantage to the farmers was that although comparatively high wages had to be paid them during ploughing and harvest, it was not necessary to provide for their keep during the off season.²⁷⁶⁾ The Genadendalers provided their share of labour on the roads, railways and mines. Though their main export was labour they exported other products such as wool and buchu leaves and they were of course consumers of farm produce, especially during bad harvest years, and in increasing amounts, of trade commodities. The Coloureds did not prove without initiative. A resident earned his living outside Genadendal by cattle trading in 1833.²⁷⁷⁾ In 1849 a transport rider lost seven oxen.²⁷⁸⁾ Thus, if economic conditions seem to stagnate in the second half of the Nineteenth Century, the reason must not be sought in a falling off of missionary effort or in the listlessness of the Coloured residents. The tendency was the result of the general economic development of the country in that period.

²⁷⁶⁾ Papers Relative to Natives: Hallbeck to Commissioners, 12th May, 1825.

²⁷⁷⁾ Schr. 1. 1836: Ber. G., 1833.

²⁷⁸⁾ *ibid.*, 3. 1851: Ber. G., 1849.

VIII.

Education at Genadendal.

Education was one of the most important activities of the Brethren. Their system of education had as its aim the Christianisation of the Coloureds. Soon after the arrival of the first three missionaries at Baviaanskloof, they started a school. At first they instructed only the adults. They had 25 pupils on the first day. When a contentot disobeyed or misbehaved, his book was taken away from him and he was excluded from the school. Towards the end of March, 1793 they commenced instructing the children.¹⁾ A similar system of discipline was followed with them. Once when there was general disobedience, the Brethren threatened to discontinue their school altogether.²⁾ Already the school had to be closed during the harvesting season.³⁾ The Brethren met with much success. When the Reverend Mr. Voss visited the institution in 1799, 300 children attended.⁴⁾

From these beginnings developed the school for the bigger boys and girls and later the infant school. Besides these there were evening classes and Sunday schools to refresh the memories of those who had left school. The Training School was founded in 1838, and in 1860 the printing press was added. As has been mentioned Hallbeck was of the opinion that the Coloured children at Genadendal were just as capable as those in an English village.⁵⁾

In 1814 the first school house for the boys and girls was erected with the help of money collected by the colonial chaplain. An appeal was made for slates and writing material from England "and anything else, that is useful for the furnishing of a school upon Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster's principle."⁶⁾ Latrobe found that the boys could spell and read well. The children were sincerely attached to their teachers and the girls shed tears when Father Marsveld was replaced by Brother Leitner.⁷⁾ In 1820 127 boys and 150 girls attended the school.⁸⁾ The attendance at the schools was affected by the seasons especially at harvest time. It

1) *Ann. P. Accs. Journal Bkif.* Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

2) *ibid.*, *Journal Bkif.* May, 1803 - Nov., 1804.

3) *ibid.*, *Journal Bkif.* 1795.

4) *ibid.*, *Journal Bkif.* 1799.

5) Select Committee, *Aborigines*, Hallbeck, 1836.

6) *P. Accs. LXII*, Kuester, G., 7th Jan., 24th Mch., 28th May, 1814.

7) *C.I. Latrobe*, p. 112-3, 115-6.

8) *Nchr.*, 1. 1822: *Er. G.*, Jan. - Sept., 1820.

decreased appreciably during the 1822 famine.⁹⁾ At first the average attendance was not very satisfactory. Of the 168 boys and 137 girls registered in the school in 1825 only about 150 attended daily.¹⁰⁾ In 1823 the examinations showed that about half the children could read.¹¹⁾ Diligent pupils were rewarded with clothes sent by benefactors in Europe, mainly in England.¹²⁾

During the 1830ies important additions and improvements were made in the educational system. In November, 1831 an infant school was founded by Hallbeck which was soon filled by the children between 3 and 5 years of age.¹³⁾ It had a beneficial influence on the number of children that attended the boys' and girls' schools.¹⁴⁾ Before 1832 Coloured assistants worked in the schools already.¹⁵⁾ They now became more numerous and influential. In 1834 one of them Ezechiel Pfeiffer, succeeded one of the missionaries supervising the boys' school.¹⁶⁾ The teaching of writing and arithmetic, hitherto neglected, was improved.¹⁷⁾ In 1837 lessons in the English language, were introduced in the boys' and girls' schools.¹⁸⁾

By 1834 the average attendance had increased from 60-70 to 100-110 in the boys' school and in the girls' school it had increased to 120-130 daily.¹⁹⁾ In 1838 there were 150 children in the infant school, 130 pupils in the girls' school and 120 in the boys' school.²⁰⁾ There was also an improvement in the proficiency of the pupils. In March, 1830 of the 121 girls who attended an examination 63 could read. Of a total of 106 boys 41 could read.²¹⁾ The corresponding figures for the year 1840 were: of 126 girls 94 could read and of these 43 could read the New Testament in English. Of 103 boys 80 could read Dutch and of these 40 could read

9) Nchr. 1. 1824: Ber. G., Apr. - Dez., 1822.

10) P. Accs. CXI, Hallbeck, G., 19th Dec., 1825.

11) Papers relative to Natives: Brief Sketch, 1823.

12) Nchr. 1. 1826: Ber. G., 1824.

13) Ibid., 1. 1834: Ber. G., 1831.

14) Select Committee Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

15) Nchr. 6. 1834: Ber. G., 1832.

16) Exs. P. Accs. Hallbeck, G., 10th Jan., 1834.

17) Ibid., Hallbeck, G., 9th Aug., 1834.

18) Nchr. 2. 1840: Ber. G., 1837.

19) Ibid., 6. 1836: Ber. G., 1834.

20) J. Hackhouse, p. 97.

21) Nchr. 3. 1833: Ber. G., 1830.

English. Some of the older boys were proficient in writing and arithmetic.²²⁾

In the late 1840ies the first assistants from the Training School were appointed to the Genadendal schools.²³⁾ Besides women were appointed to help maintain discipline in the schools. Still the missionaries complained that boys were employed by their parents to earn money or to do work at home and in the fields,²⁴⁾ especially during the ploughing season.²⁵⁾ Progress was made, however, and an increasing proportion of the boys and girls were able to write.²⁶⁾ In 1848 the official returns were as follows:

School	Teachers	Registered pupils			Average daily attendance
		Male	Female	Total	
Boys	Brother Gysin & 3 assistants.	167		167	124
Girls	Sister Gysin.		171	171	123
Infant	Native Teacher.	140	130	300	225

In 1848 38 pupils who could read, write and do some arithmetic left the school. Besides they had been instructed in religion, geography music and drawing.²⁷⁾

The average attendance decreased after 1848. In 1853 of 192 boys a daily attendance of 120 was recorded, of 203 girls 156 attended daily.²⁸⁾ In 1864 attendance was even worse. 99 boys and 47 girls did not attend a quarter of the lessons and 19 boys and 11 girls did not attend at all. Besides, of the 42 boys discharge, 24 could not read and of the 49 girls discharge, 13 were in the same position.²⁹⁾ In 1870 the 44 of the 74 discharge children could not read.³⁰⁾

After representative government had been granted to the Colony the government took more interest in the schools at the institution. In 1861 the schools were voted an increased annual grant of £75,³¹⁾ and the Superintendent of Education, Dr. Dale, inspected them.³²⁾ At the same time a new school

22) Nchr. 1. 1843: Ber. G., 1840.

23) *ibid.*, 2. 1849: Ber. G., 1847.

24) *ibid.*, 1. 1846: Ber. G., 1843.

25) *ibid.*, 6. 1848: Ber. G., 1846.

26) *ibid.*, 2. 1849: Ber. G., 1847; *ibid.*, 1. 1850; Ber. G., 184

27) CO 5990 Educational return for 1848.

28) P. Accs. CCXXI, 1853: C.R. Kilbing, G., 14th Jul., 1853.

29) Nchr. 3. 1866: Ber. G., 1864.

30) *ibid.*, 10. 1871: Ber. G., Jan. - Jul., 1870.

31) P. Accs. CCLIII, 1861: F.W. Kuhn, G., 18th Jun., 1861.

32) *ibid.*, CCLIX, 1863: B. Marx, G., 19th Mch., 1863.

was founded for the children in Barea. With the help of money from England the building was completed in July, 1866.³³⁾

By 1880 a definite improvement had been brought about. The inspector classed the school as one of the best primary schools in the Colony.³⁴⁾ The daily attendance at the schools increased appreciably. During the 1870ies the highest attendance at the school was 250, the lowest scarcely 100; in 1879 the lowest attendance was 450 and in 1880 the average attendance per day was 550.³⁵⁾ The missionaries considered that the children were receiving instruction equal to if not better than in the best German village school.³⁶⁾ In the 1880ies under the influence of the Afrikanerbond, the government decreased its grants-in-aid.³⁷⁾ Consequently school fees had to be raised and this decreased the number of children as some parents were not prepared to pay. In 1854 a low school fee had been imposed.³⁸⁾ Difficulties first arose in 1878³⁹⁾ and in 1908 400 children did not attend school because of this.⁴⁰⁾

The missionaries established an industrial school for girls in 1836.⁴¹⁾ The popular Genadendal house maids were trained in this school.⁴²⁾

The Brethren maintained that without the help of the parents and guardians of the children all their schooling would be ineffective. They, therefore, frequently had serious conversations with parents about their duties.⁴³⁾ The punishment of the children was in the main left to the parents who were informed when it was necessary.⁴⁴⁾ The Brethren also provided a system of adult education. This developed from the original classes for adults. In 1820 Hallbeck in-

³³⁾ Nchr., 3. 1868: Ber. G., Jun., 1865 - Dez., 1866.

³⁴⁾ *ibid.*, 7. 1881: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1880.

³⁵⁾ P. Accs. No. 328, 1880: A.G. Hettasch, G., 30th Jun., 1880

³⁶⁾ *ibid.*, No. 340, 1883: Visitation by F.W. Kühn, 1883.

³⁷⁾ Nchr. 10. 1887: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1886.

³⁸⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1856: Ber. G., 1854.

³⁹⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1879: Ber. G., 1878.

⁴⁰⁾ P. Accs. No. 75, 1908: Reports from the Mission Fields, South Africa Western Province.

⁴¹⁾ Nchr., 3. 1838: Ber. G., 1836.

⁴²⁾ Information from E. Weder.

⁴³⁾ e.g. P. Accs. LVIII: Diary G., Jan. - Sept., 1809; *ibid.*, LXX: Diary May - Jun., 1813; Nchr. 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

⁴⁴⁾ P. Accs. LX: Diary G., Jan. - Feb., 1810.

roduced classes on Sundays and Saturdays for the young men and women (respectively) who had left school.⁴⁵⁾ In 1838 the Sunday school for adults was changed to an evening school twice a week. Those who attended were taught reading, writing arithmetic and English. Besides there was a general knowledge class run by Hallbeck. In 1836 Hallbeck brought a small Dutch library with him from Europe. The books were all circulated in the community within a few days.⁴⁶⁾ By 1838 the adult school had 169 registered pupils.⁴⁷⁾ The classes for those just out of school were changed to the evening in 1862, after a period when there were no such classes.⁴⁸⁾ When the new school room was erected in 1880 these classes had again not been held for a time because of lack of room. They were reintroduced as Bible classes on Sundays.⁴⁹⁾

A number of people in the settlement were very eager to learn to read. Some few men, at work during the day, learnt to read from their wives and children at night.⁵⁰⁾ In 1849 one of the Brethren writes that very often they found that the Bible was being read in the houses.⁵¹⁾ The education of the villagers thus did have some effect. In 1846 when many of the men were on the frontier as soldiers the villagers received many letters from them.⁵²⁾ In an official inquiry in 1864 of 3190 inhabitants, 699 persons claimed to be able to read and write; a further 598 stated that they were able to read.⁵³⁾

The Genadendal Training School was founded to train native teachers and ministers. The idea was present in the minds of men like Hallbeck long before it was actually put into effect. In 1828 Hallbeck took Eszechiel Pfeiffer and another boy into his custody for special training.⁵⁴⁾ The Brethren realised that this private training was insufficient. When the magnanimity of a German prince had made the under-

⁴⁵⁾ Nchr. 1. 1822: Ber. G., 1820.

⁴⁶⁾ *ibid.*, 5. 1840: Ber. G., 1838.

⁴⁷⁾ J. Backhouse, p. 97.

⁴⁸⁾ P. Accs. CCLVI, 1862: F. S. Kuhn, G., 19th Mar., 1862.

⁴⁹⁾ Nchr. 8. 1881: Ber. G., Jul. - Dec., 1880.

⁵⁰⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1829: Ber. G., Apr. - Dec., 1826.

⁵¹⁾ P. Accs. CCV, 1849: D. S. Buhl, G., 20th Jun., 1849.

⁵²⁾ Nchr. 6. 1848: Ber. G., 1846.

⁵³⁾ *ibid.*, 6. 1866: Ber. G., 1866.

⁵⁴⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1831: Ber. G., 1828.

taking financially possible, the project was started.⁵⁵⁾ On the 12th September, 1838 Ezechiel Pfeiffer, as a member of the teaching staff, and the first pupils entered the Training School building.⁵⁶⁾ When James Backhouse visited Genadendal soon after, there were ten pupils in the institution.⁵⁷⁾ The subjects that were examined in 1842 were English and Dutch reading and grammar, translation, arithmetic, geometry, geography history, and singing. A number played hymns on the piano and handed in specimens of writing and drawing. The students assisted in the schools and in this way obtained practice in teaching.⁵⁸⁾ In 1842 the first teacher was sent out to help at Elia⁵⁹⁾ and in 1845 the first student to be put in charge of an outpost left for Houtkloof.⁶⁰⁾

In 1846 the first Bantu or 'Caffres' entered the seminary. The missionaries were satisfied with their progress and their behaviour. In 1848 there were 14 students in the Training School. Besides the subjects mentioned above they received instruction in the playing of the violin and in Bible exegesis. Some of the subjects were taught in English.⁶¹⁾ The students were apprenticed to craftsmen in the village and learned shoemaking, tailoring and carpentry.⁶²⁾ They entered the school when they were twelve years old and remained with the missionaries until they had completed their training without returning home at all. This meant a financial sacrifice to the parents as many boys could earn money when they were 12 years old.⁶³⁾ In 1858 of the 45 who had finished their training, seven had "turned out ill. Such a result, we ascribe to the Lord's mercy alone."⁶⁴⁾ The missionaries did not expect to have success with all their students.

The Training School was the first of its kind in the Colony. Teachers trained in it were in demand. They were

55) P. Accs. No. 68, 1906: The Training School Genadendal by Rev. Th. Henkowitz, Director: 1882-1904.

56) Nchr. 5. 1840: Ber. G., 1838.

57) J. Backhouse, p. 96.

58) "chr. 3. 1845: Ber. G., 1842.

59) Ibid., (same as note 58)

60) Ibid., 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

61) Ibid., 6. 1848: Ber. G., 1846; CO 5990 Educational returns for 1848.

62) P. Accs. CCXXI, 1856: B. Marx, 26th Sept., 1855.

63) Ibid., CCX, 1851: Report of the Training School Genadendal.

64) Ibid., CCXXXIX, 1858: D.W. Suhl (no date).

used by Bishop Gray of the Anglican Church⁶⁵⁾ and the Berlin Missionary Society.⁶⁶⁾ Soon other missionary concerns followed the Moravian example. When the London Missionary Society planned a teacher training college at Hankay it took Genadendal as a model.⁶⁷⁾

The printing press was looked upon as part of the Training School. Some of the students were trained in the art of book printing and book binding as an alternative to apprenticeship in a craft. This improvement as well as the introduction of lessons in playing the organ and the trumpet were due to the energy of Brother B. Marx who was in charge of the Training School in the 1860ies.⁶⁸⁾ The Training School was inspected by Dr. Dale in 1863 and he was

"...satisfied with the result of his examination, except as regards their knowledge of arithmetic, for which, indeed, they have but little talent. With the progress of the elder pupils, he was much pleased; some of them even puzzled the examiner himself."⁶⁹⁾

By 1868 75 students had passed through the school. Of these 37 had entered the school service and 10 had to be dismissed for bad conduct. In 1870 there were 33 in employment, 17 in the schools of the United Brethren and 16 in those of other churches. In spite of the failures the Brethren were convinced of the usefulness of the school.⁷⁰⁾ In 1883 a theological class with a two year course of study was added. The teachers' course had to be extended because of the requirements of the government.⁷¹⁾

In 1875 an inspector examined two of the pupils. He said he would have given them both a teachers' certificate had he been authorized to do so.⁷²⁾ After this it was decided to enter pupils for the government examinations, and in 1877 the first three candidates wrote and passed them.⁷³⁾

The Genadendal Printing Press can be grouped under the head of education from the point of view of provision of

65) P. Accs. CCXXIV, 1857: C.R. Kuhlbing & B. Marx, 11th Oct., 1856.

66) Nchr. 1. 1852: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1850.

67) *ibid.*, 6. 1848: Ber. G., 1846.

68) *ibid.*, 11. & 12. 1861: Ber. G., 1860.

69) P. Accs. CCCLIX, 1863: B. Marx, 19th March, 1863.

70) *ibid.*, CCXXVIII, 1870: P. Bechler, 12th May, 1870.

71) *ibid.*, No. 68, 1906: The Training School - Th. Henkewitz.

72) *ibid.*, No. 308, 1875: Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1875.

73) Nchr. 3. 1878: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1877.

reading matter. In 1834 a small printing press arrived in Genadendal as a present from Holland. Hallbeck put it together and used it occasionally.⁷⁴⁾ There is no sign that the press was used extensively until Brother B. Marx unearthed it in 1859.

"We are determined to set the press to work as much as possible; if we can get the people to read more, I am sure much will be gained."⁷⁵⁾

In 1860 the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel in London presented the mission with a new printing press.⁷⁶⁾ By 1861 300 copies of the monthly paper 'De Bode' and 700 copies of the monthly paper 'De Kindervriend' were printed.⁷⁷⁾ They were read both in and outside the village.⁷⁸⁾ A book-binding department under the supervision of A.G. Hattasch was added to the printing office in 1860. Here the books of 'Watchwords' printed in Dutch in the printing office were bound. "Some were done to order, in calf, with gilt edges."⁷⁹⁾ In 1865 a modern machine arrived and the printing office earned more money as orders from outside were executed. For a considerable period it was the only press in the country that could print music.⁸⁰⁾

The Brethren were very desirous of eliminating illiteracy among the inhabitants of Genadendal and worked incessantly at this task. Their main aim, however, was to provide the whole community with a truly Christian education.

74) Nchr. 6. 1836: Ber. G., 1834.

75) P. Accs. CCXLII, 1860: B. Marx, G., 17th Dec., 1859.

76) Nchr. 1. 1862: Ber. G., 1860.

77) Ibid., 11. & 12. 1862: 1861, Ber. G., 1861.

78) P. Accs. CCIXI, 1863: Description of G., - Rev. J. Murray.

79) Ibid., CCL, 1861: B. Marx, G., 18th Dec., 1860.

80) Ibid., No. 68, 1906: The Training School, - Th. Henkewitz.

IX.

The Structure of Society at Genadendal.

The values and social relations of the community living in the village at Genadendal were largely determined by the Christian principles inculcated by the missionaries of the Unitas Fratrum. This new set of values was superimposed upon the decaying system of tribal values of the Hottentots. The individuals who moved to the place after the missionaries had arrived in 1792 realized that a profound difference existed between their attitude to life and that of their teachers. They attempted to mould their behaviour accordingly. Within the first few weeks they spontaneously put a stop to their dancing without any remonstrance from the missionaries.¹⁾ They were under the impression that the missionaries would be pleased if they showed what they had learnt from Georg Schmidt. For this reason they used to pray mainly during the night when they always withdrew to a particular spot for their devotions.²⁾ The nucleus of the community which gathered after 1792, were persons who had been under Schmidt's care and descendants of such persons.³⁾ In spite of the strength and novelty of the precepts of the Brethren, the values of tribal society, its customs and beliefs were not completely overwhelmed and eradicated.

The importance of Christian principles in determining the values according to which the community lived is seen when one analyses the class stratification within the community and the qualities that afforded social prestige and status. As has been described in Chapter III, the main determinants of classes within the community were the rank the individual held in the church and the official position if any. Lichtenstein's description of the community in the beginning of the nineteenth Century bears this out. The uppermost strata among the communicants was formed by the chapel-servants and later the 'opziensers'. Below the communicants were the baptized. The lowest class was formed by the 'New People' and the candidates for baptism.⁴⁾

There were, however, divisions that cut across church privilege. The qualification of wealth was distinctive and

¹⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

²⁾ P. Accs. BkIV: Jul., 1811 - Dec., 1811 - Diary G.

³⁾ Ibid., LXIII: Diary G., Aug., 1810 - Jun., 1811; Mchr. 1. 1846: Bar. G., 1843.

⁴⁾ H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 251-2.

grew more so as the community became increasingly integrated in the economy of the whole Colony. In the beginning, as Lichtenstein points out, wealth and rank in the church, usually fell together, as the Nineteenth Century progressed this changed. Christian Reitz, for instance, who was excluded for a time,⁵⁾ was described by Lady Duff Gordon as a person of wealth and social prestige.⁶⁾ Under wealth the community at Genadendal understood the possession of a fine herd of cattle, particularly a full span of oxen⁷⁾ and the possession of a well built house.⁸⁾

There is no evidence that race caused any divisions or rivalry. Latrobe states of the 'Caffres'

"They differ in features and habits from the Hottentots, but, here, associate with them in perfect amity."⁹⁾

There were no complaints of differences between the Hottentots and the emancipated slaves.¹⁰⁾

The social line of division between the sexes was, however, maintained and became perhaps even more important than it had been in tribal society. At burials and church services for instance, the sexes were kept strictly separate.¹¹⁾ When the chapel-servants met a distinct division was drawn by the inhabitants themselves between the men and the women.¹²⁾

It is surprising that certain distinctions of the tribal system were retained at Genadendal, especially when it is realised that the tribal life of the Hottentots was practically destroyed before the missionaries arrived, and that, unlike the Bantu, there were no strong tribal groups from which the population of Genadendal could be replenished. Nevertheless it is a fact that clan loyalties were still an important factor in the social life of the community. Soon after Latrobe's arrival a deputation of Hottentots approached the Brethren requesting that a chief of the Hesqua clan should be recognised as there was too much work for the chief of the Kcopman's tribe. Konatz and Latrobe persuaded the

5) Nchr. 5. 1860: Ber. G., Aug. - Dec., 1858.

6) Lady Duff Gordon, p. 102-3.

7) Nchr. 1. 1849: Ber. G., 1843.

8) *ibid.*, 11. 1875: Ber. G., 1874.

9) C.I. Latrobe, pp. 94-5.

10) Nchr. 1. 1843: Ber. G., 1840.

11) J. Backhouse, p. 96-7.

12) P. Accs. LX: Diary G., Sept. - Dec., 1809.

Hottentots that this would make a bad impression on the colonial authorities since Koopman had been installed as captain of the inhabitants of Genadendal. They added that such rivalries were unworthy of a Christian community and that they would have to expel anybody who persisted in this demand. The Hottentots listened quietly and promised "to desist from their path onto which they had been led by a designing and crafty Hottentot."¹³⁾ Later Latrobe found that a Hottentot had been to Cape Town to try and acquire a staff of office but without success. The missionaries threatened him with expulsion if he persisted in his intrigues. He at last admitted that he was in the wrong and promised good behaviour in future.¹⁴⁾ Captain Koopman enjoyed respect until his death in 1842.¹⁵⁾

The missionaries permitted persons skilled in the extracting of poison to continue their activities. In 1812, for instance, a woman skilled in this art saved a cow which had been bitten by a snake. She also cured a colonist of the sting of a 'venomous spider' for which he cancelled her debt to him of 20 Rds.¹⁶⁾ In 1818 a woman is reported to have died because she had not gone to one of these poison extractors immediately. It is probable that these experts acquired and maintained immunity by regularly swallowing snake poison.¹⁷⁾

The Brethren's policy of permitting native medical craft had unforeseen consequences. In 1843 the relations of a woman who had died suddenly could not be persuaded that she had not been bewitched.¹⁸⁾ Some of these beliefs may have come from the slaves. In 1848 an East Indian sorcerer entered the village. He persuaded the sick and ailing members of the congregation that they had been influenced by their enemies and prescribed preventative 'medicines'. At first he only demanded a penny for treatment, but soon he made the people pay more. He was expelled, but the Brethren were saddened by the knowledge that communicants had been among his clients.¹⁹⁾ In 1850 a former female slave treated

¹³⁾ G.I. Latrobe, p. 154-7.

¹⁴⁾ *ibid.*, p. 402-3.

¹⁵⁾ *Nchr.* 3. 1845: *Bar. G.*, 1842.

¹⁶⁾ P. Accs. LXV: *Diary G.*, Jan. - Jan., 1812.

¹⁷⁾ *Nchr.* 6. 1819, Jan. - Sept. 1818.

¹⁸⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1846: *Bar. G.*, 1843.

¹⁹⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1850: *Bar. G.*, 1848.

a patient who had been suffering from severe headache and had lost the sight of one eye. She persuaded the woman patient that an enemy of hers had cast a spell over her and placed an object in her head which caused the pain. After some time she covered the patient's head in cowdung. When it was removed parts of a watch chain and a stone emerged. Only after the missionaries had threatened to expell her on the complaint of the woman accused by her, was she prepared to admit her fault.²⁰⁾ In 1884 the missionaries make an entry in their diary that shows that sorcery was still practiced in the community.

"We are fully aware that the belief in and practice of witchcraft still obtains among our people, though positive proof of it seldom comes to our knowledge. One day in August (1884) a chapel servant brought us two curious little bundles. These were charms, which had been found at the threshold of a house where a woman was ill. The culprit was a person living on the place who has not been to church for years, and has long been under suspicion. She was called before us, and, being convicted of the act, was excluded from the congregation."²¹⁾

In 1888 a young man from Genadendal, who was living in Cape Town, had an attack of insanity. His friends removed him from hospital and he was cured by a "Kaferdokhor in volles Zauberkostüm." (a Gaffre doctor in full regalia). The residents often turned back to witchcraft to explain illness.²²⁾

The belief in witchcraft and the power of its practitioners was the most pernicious and clinging relic of tribal society and the lore of the slave population. The Brethren strangely enough allowed even religious functions to be continued. In March, 1793, the three pioneers were invited to attend the burial of a Hottentot child. It took place toward evening. They found the men assembled. The women were sitting on the ground smoking and observing the procedure from a distance. The corpse, wrapped in a sheepskin, was brought out of the hut. A man, apparently some sort of priest, headed the procession, he was followed by the person carrying the corpse. Behind him came the father and then the rest of the men carrying shovels. The grave was four feet deep and larger than necessary for a grownup person. A vault to receive the corpse had been excavated in one side of it. The grave was first filled with branches and faggots, and then

²⁰⁾ Mchr. 4. 1851: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1850.

²¹⁾ P. Accs. No. 349, 1885: Diary G., Jul., 1884 - Jul., 1885.

²²⁾ Mchr. 4. 1889: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1888.

with earth which was heaped up in a mound on which a Hottentot fig was planted. The mound was later covered with stones to keep off 'wolves'. The ceremony ended with the slaughter of a goat.

"The graves of Hottentots are very visible for a great number of years, and there are behind our house many mounds of earth covered with stones as monuments of the deceased."²³⁾

Some of these customs were still observed a quarter of a century later as appears from Latrobe's report in 1816. The corpse then was sewn up in skins but laid on a bier and covered with a white sheet. The service in church and the procession followed Christian practice. At the graveside

"The liturgy at burials is read, during which, two of the bearers, descending into the grave, receive the body from those above, and place it in a recess, made on one side, at the bottom."

This was the traditional Hottentot grave. Bushes and branches were still piled into the grave as high as the top of the recess and earth thrown on these. Latrobe could not obtain any information on the origin of this custom, but as it was done 'with decency', the missionaries permitted it.²⁴⁾

The family was the most important social unit within the community. It was of course monogamous. As we have seen, the family was the basic economic unit within the community. While the father earned the money in the fields and as a tradesman, as a migratory labourer and in the service of the Brethren, the women and younger children tilled the garden.²⁵⁾ The growing importance of migratory labour, tended to disrupt the family. Towards the end of the Nineteenth Century when the labourers from Genadendal had to go farther afield to find work the disruptive effects of the system increased.

"This state of things is most detrimental to the families thus broken up. Those who have the station for the most part, withdraw from Gospel privileges and influences. The men, absent from home for months, or even years, lose their affection for those who should be dearest to them. And whilst they, unmindful of duties to wives and children at home, are in too many instances squandering their earnings in drink, or going yet more sadly astray, the latter are suffering in many ways. Children, missing a father's authority and the training of a well-ordered home, follow their own inclinations in the direction of levity and evil,

²³⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Nov. 1792 - Mch., 1793.

²⁴⁾ C.I. Latrobe, pp. 129-30.

²⁵⁾ CO 102 Answers to Queries, Hallbeck, 11th Dec., 1819.

and many poor mothers know neither how to control them nor how to provide for them."²⁶⁾

The Genadendalers could not fall back on a tribal reserve in rural areas as is possible for many Bantu to-day.

Shortly after the second British occupation the authorities empowered the missionaries to perform marriage ceremonies.²⁷⁾ When the couple to be married were baptized, they intimated their intentions to the missionaries. After they had promised each other in marriage in the presence of all the missionaries the bans were read on three consecutive Sundays. They were then married before ~~the~~ ^{the} assembled congregation.²⁸⁾ The heathen couples who lived together as married persons in the village presented a difficulty that was only overcome by legislation in 1839 which authorised the missionaries to marry these people as well. There were then well over a hundred such couples. The ritual of marriage was the same except that the actual ceremony, though performed in the church was not gone through before the congregation but only in the presence of the missionaries. Excluded persons were married in the same way.²⁹⁾ The Brethren deplored the fact that legal divorce was impossible.

"Es ist zu beklagen, dass auch dann, wenn der Mann oder die Frau sich einer Untreue schuldig gemacht hat, hier keine Scheidung ausgesprochen werden kann, wenigstens keine solche, wodurch der- oder diejenige von ihnen, welche unschuldig ist, Freiheit erhält wieder zu heirathen, - so wenig man es auch auf der andern Seite billigen kann, wenn die gerichtliche Scheidung zu leicht zu erhalten ist. Zwar vergeben die Hottentotten einander eheliche Untreuen leicht, und wenn der oder die Schuldige um Verzeihung bittet, was eigentlich immer geschieht, so leben sie dann wieder ungestört mit einander. Aber es kommt doch zuweilen vor, dass der schuldige Theil in der Versündigung beharrt, z. B. dass die Frau mit einem andern Mann davon geht, wodurch der verlassene Mann, der nicht wieder heirathen darf, ebenfalls der Versuchung, sich auf gleiche Weise zu versündigen, bloss gestellt wird."³⁰⁾

²⁶⁾ P. Accs. No. 349, 1885: Genadendal and its need of a new Branch of Industry, - A.G. Hettasch,

²⁷⁾ Theal, Records, xi, p. 495.

²⁸⁾ Mchr. 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845; C.I. Latrobe, p. 152.

²⁹⁾ *ibid.*, 5. 1841: Ber. G., 1839.

³⁰⁾ *ibid.*, 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845. It is deplorable that, even when the husband or the wife are guilty of adultery, divorce cannot be granted, at least no divorce where the innocent party is granted leave to marry again, - as little as one, on the other hand, would approve if legal divorce could be too easily obtained. The Hottentots forgive each other unfaithfulness in marriage easily, and when the guilty party asks for forgiveness, which is almost always the case, they again live in peace with one another. But sometimes it

The missionaries thought that the Hottentot girls were easily seduced. Some of the most promising girls were seduced by the Dragoons posted at Zoetemelksvallei in 1797.³¹⁾ There is no evidence that preventative measures such as marrying the people young were taken by the missionaries. Hallbeck airs his views on the problem in a letter.

"though we are far from excusing sin, we cannot but pity the poor females, considering the many obstacles in the way of regular marriages, presented by the customs and mode of life in this colony."³²⁾

'If an unmarried girl came in the family way' she was publicly ejected from the congregation. She usually stayed with her parents and was later readmitted.³³⁾ In 1888 the murder of an illegitimate child is mentioned.³⁴⁾

The impression the morals of the Hottentots made on the Brethren was not unfavourable. They reported that, although idle, they were honest in regard to the property of another person. They did not steal unless they were driven by severe hunger. The missionaries experienced examples of the Hottentots returning lost articles to the owner.³⁵⁾ They noticed, however, that they were apt to deceive them as to their inner religious feeling. Some had learnt by contact with the colonists to speak religiously and they had become 'expert at dissimulation' inventing the most convincing excuses and falsehoods.³⁶⁾ They also accused them of making 'any frivolous excuse' a reason for their 'running up and down the country.'³⁷⁾ In 1836, however, Hallbeck says that the population of the Cape Colony, Europeans as well as Hottentots, had a natural propensity for travelling. Often what would be described as 'travelling' in a colonist was branded as 'vagrancy' in a Hottentot. He adds, that the number of strange Hottentots who entered Genadendal had not increased since the repeal of the Vagrancy Laws in 1827! This could easily be checked as strangers had to report to

happens that the guilty party persists in sin, e.g. that the wife deserts with another man, consequently the deserted husband, who cannot marry again, is also open to the temptation to sin in the same way.

31) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1797.

32) Ibid., Hallbeck, G., 29th Aug., 1835.

33) CO 611 Fentach to Civil Commissioner, 4th April, 1831.

34) Nchr. 3. 1889: Ber. G., 1888.

35) Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. Nov., 1792 - Mch., 1793.

36) Ibid., Journal Bk1f. 1799.

37) Ibid., Journal Bk1f. 1801.

the 'opziensers'. In fact, the colonists roved as much as the Hottentots, but it did not cause any harm. A vagrancy law, the introduction of which Hallbeck had strenuously opposed in 1834 although not in public,³⁸⁾ was therefore, not only unnecessary but injurious to both the farmers and the Hottentots as labour could not move freely and the Hottentots suffered under the abuses of the system. Hallbeck could not recollect having seen any beggars in the colony except one or two Irishmen!³⁹⁾

In the beginning the missionaries found "nichts mehr zu beklagen, als die Neigung dieses Volkes zur Unthätigkeit,..."⁴⁰⁾ In 1836, however, Hallbeck said that in Genadendal the Hottentots were prepared to work if there was prospect of remuneration. He gives examples of cutlers who had worked in the cutlery since 1795 and of servants in the kitchen who had worked there since 1798.⁴¹⁾ The missionaries, however, were of the opinion that the Coloureds were a thriftless people and that they were incapable in many cases, of taking the necessary precautions for the future. The missionaries probably slightly exaggerated this trait in the character of the Hottentot people. Their failing in this respect was partly due to the fact that Genadendal simply could not carry the population that lived in the village. It was true on the other hand that the Coloureds, when they were earning well as for instance on the railways in the 1870ies used their earnings for the purchase of alcoholic drinks to the great detriment of family life.⁴²⁾ The Brethren themselves were convinced that drink was the most dangerous and pernicious enemy of the community.

"Wir sind überzeugt, dass der Branntwein vornehmlich die Waffe ist, womit der Fürst der Finsterniss wider das Reich Gottes streitet,..."⁴³⁾

In comparison to drink, dagga smoking, for instance, was only a minor problem. It is only mentioned once in 1843.⁴⁴⁾

³⁸⁾ Exs. P. Accs. Hallbeck, 6., 9th Jul., & 17th Sept. 1834.

³⁹⁾ Select Committee Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

⁴⁰⁾ H. Lichtenstein, I, p. 252-5; Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1801. (...nothing to complain about more than the disposition of these people to indolence.)

⁴¹⁾ Select Committee Aborigines, Hallbeck, 1836.

⁴²⁾ Schr. II. 1878: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1877.

⁴³⁾ Ibid., 5. 1840: Ber. G., 1838 (# are convinced that 'brandy' above all is the weapon wherewith Satan attacks the Kingdom of God...)

⁴⁴⁾ Ibid., 1. 1849: Ber. G., 1843.

In 1801 the missionaries complain of inhabitants who brought wine into the village and the resultant intoxication.⁴⁵⁾ The worst effects of alcohol appeared when a group of people gathered in one house for the express purpose of drinking.⁴⁶⁾ They often chose church festivals for such parties because then many people were at home.⁴⁷⁾ The introduction of 'canteens' in Caledon increased the amount of drunkenness among the inhabitants.⁴⁸⁾ In November, 1849, however, a missionary writes that only two cases of drunkenness occurred in six months.⁴⁹⁾

The volunteers in 1851, however, spent much of the money advanced to them in a bottle store one and a half hours walk from Genadendal.⁵⁰⁾ Drunkenness increased after 1851 because the people had less respect for the constable than they had had for the 'opzieners',⁵¹⁾ and because 'canteens' were opened in Greyton, a neighbouring village.

This weakness cannot be entirely blamed on the Coloureds. White men kept the 'canteens' in the vicinity of Genadendal. On the farms the tot system was in vogue. The farmers gave wine to their labourers as part of their daily wage. At New Year kegs of wine or brandy were given to the labourers on some farms in the 1830ies.⁵²⁾ Besides, the tot system was abused. Some of the farmers, in one case even a Justice of the Peace, gave their labourers wine instead of wages!⁵³⁾ The Brethren wholeheartedly condemn the system in the following words:

"...Denn der Genuss des Weines, der der ruin und Fluch ihres (der Farbigen) Familienlebens ist, übt noch immer einen unwiderstehlichen Reiz auf sie aus. Man sind einige unserer weissen Nachbarn so grausam und gewissenlos, dass sie nicht nur ganz gegen das Landesgesetz ihnen den Wein in kleinsten Quantitäten verabreichen, sondern sie beuten auch die Charakterschwäche unserer Leute in der Weise aus, dass sie ihnen neben dem geringen Lohne, welchen jene teilweise in Naturalien nehmen müssen, auch etwas Wein extra verabreichen, indem sie darauf rechnen, dass die

45) Eya. P. Accs. Journal Sklf. 1801.

46) Nchr. 1. 1849: Ber. G., 1843.

47) Ibid., 1. 1848: Ber. G., 1845.

48) P. Accs. CIX, 1848: Diary G., 1847.

49) Ibid., CCVII, 1850: D. A. Suhl, G., 5th Nov., 1849.

50) Nchr. 2. 1853: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1851.

51) P. Accs. CCXI, 1851: D. A. Suhl, G., 12th Feb., 1851.

52) Nchr. 2. 1840: Ber. G., 1837.

53) Ibid., 3. 1866: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1864.

Leute, wenn sie nur einmal hinter den Geschmack gekommen, statt des wenigen baren Geldes, lieber Wein als Zahlung annehmen werden. Dass darunter Frau und Kinder der also Verführten zu leiden haben, kümmert sie nicht. Und unter solchen Weissen befinden sich Männer geachtet und geehrt, und die man für würdig gefunden Kirchenräte zu sein!⁵⁴⁾

The terrible conditions on the railway line beyond Beaufort West where many Genadendalers worked would have destroyed the character of better men. The navvies were at the mercy of the speculators who were building the railway line. They unscrupulously exploited them by selling them provisions, especially brandy, always making out that the labourers were in their debt. In 1884 on a pay day Prince found almost everyone intoxicated on one of the stations. Men were injured by broken bottles, others were robbed, and a brawl in which some were killed was simply broken up by riding police. No one attempted to apprehend anyone for murder.⁵⁵⁾

In some cases colonists deliberately tried to seduce the Coloureds to drink.⁵⁶⁾ Latrobe expresses his disgust at the actions of such a man, a farmer of the vicinity.⁵⁷⁾ Sometimes as in 1885 they sold otherwise unsellable wine to the inhabitants of Berea.⁵⁸⁾ On other occasions European youths had drinking parties in Genadendal.⁵⁹⁾ The influx of wine into the village during elections has already been mentioned.⁶⁰⁾

The Brethren wisely did not insist on total abstinence. When, however, individuals brought large quantities of

⁵⁴⁾ Nchr. 3. 1888: Ber. G., Jul. - Dez., 1886. (The taking of wine, the ruin and malediction of their (the Coloureds) family life, still exercises an irresistible temptation over them. Some of our white neighbours are so cruel and unscrupulous, that not only do they hand out wine in small quantities against the law of the country, but they exploit the weakness in the character of our people by giving them, besides their meagre wages which they have to take partly in kind, quantities of wine, surmizing that once they have tasted it they will rather take wine instead of the little cash. That their wives and children suffer under this does not worry them in the least. Among these whites are men, honoured and respected, and found worthy of being church elders.)

⁵⁵⁾ Nchr. 5. 1885: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1884.

⁵⁶⁾ P. Accs. LVIII: Diary G., Jan. - Sept., 1809.

⁵⁷⁾ C.I. Latrobe, p. 386.

⁵⁸⁾ P. Accs. No. 352, 1886: Diary Berea, 1885.

⁵⁹⁾ Nchr. 10. 1871: Ber. G., Jan. - Jul., 1870.

⁶⁰⁾ See Chapter V.

spirituous liquor into the village and caused disorders, the Brethren punished the culprits by expulsion and exclusion.⁶¹⁾ The people were allowed to have drink in their houses; but no 'canteens' were allowed in Genadendal and public drinking was prohibited.⁶²⁾ During Hallbeck's period the missionaries supplied wine to their Coloured labourers and on festivals sold wine to the inhabitants in reasonable quantities.⁶³⁾

The Brethren and the residents petitioned the government against the opening of 'canteens' in the neighbourhood. As a result a license to open a public house between Caledon and Genadendal was refused by the magistrate in 1848.⁶⁴⁾ In 1851, however, a petition, signed by 574 Hottentots failed, and a bottle store was opened near Genadendal.⁶⁵⁾ A change in the licensing laws in the following year gave the power to grant licenses to the local authorities who decided to confine the granting of liquor licenses to Caledon, because it was served by a magistrate and police.⁶⁶⁾ In 1860 this law was altered again giving the Divisional Council and the magistrates power to grant licenses. As a result the petition of the missionaries and 500 residents failed to avert the granting of a license for a 'canteen' in Greyton only two miles from Genadendal.⁶⁷⁾ The missionaries therefore had to adopt other measures. They uttered admonitions against drink in the religious meetings. One of these was delivered spontaneously by Ezechiel Pfeiffer. The Brethren also printed pamphlets and posters describing the evils of drink and extolling the virtue of temperance. The initial beneficial effect, however, wore off. Soon many, especially excluded persons, fetched wine from Greyton.⁶⁸⁾ In 1884 and 1886 the missionaries again successfully petitioned with as many as 500 signatures, against the granting of liquor licenses near Genadendal.⁶⁹⁾

Drink was one of the major causes of crime in the

61) e.g. *Exs. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f.* 1801.

62) *Lady Duff Gordon*, p. 108; Appendix A, II, 25.

63) *Theal, records*, xxv, p. 330.

64) *Nchr.* 1. 1850: *Ber. G.*, 1848.

65) *ibid.*, 2. 1853: *Ber. G.*, Jul. - Dec., 1851.

66) *ibid.*, 2. 1854: *Ber. G.*, Jan. - Jun., 1852.

67) *P. Accs.* CCXLVIII, 1860: *C.m.*, KHibing, 17th May, 18th Jun., 1860; *ibid.*, CCLXV, 1864: *F.W. Kohn*, G., 16th Jul., 1864.

68) *Nchr.* 3. 1866: *Ber. G.*, Jul. - Dec., 1864.

69) *ibid.*, 5. 1885: *Ber. G.*, Jan. - Jun., 1884; *ibid.*, 10. 1886: *Ber. G.*, Jan. - Jun., 1886.

community.⁷⁰⁾ In general, however, the community had a good criminal record.⁷¹⁾ A Commission in 1823 found that in four years the provincial court of Swellendam had dealt with only seven cases in which Genadendalers had been involved. With one exception they had been cases of stock theft and stealing.⁷²⁾ Cases of murder and assault probably often were perpetrated when the inhabitants had left the settlement.⁷³⁾

Most disputes within the settlement were about irrigation. The missionaries were always grateful when rain or other circumstances removed the cause for them.⁷⁴⁾ Other disputes arose about the damage done by stock in the gardens.⁷⁵⁾

On the whole the teachings of the Brethren had a beneficial effect on the morals and conduct of the inhabitants of the institution.⁷⁶⁾ Besides this there was the sanction of the opinion of a fairly small and compact community. This deterrent decreased in importance as the village grew larger and the people had less contact with one another.

70) Papers, e.g. P. Accs. LXX: Diary G., Jan. - Apr., 1813; *ibid.*, CCXIII, 1854: D.W. Suhl, 13th Jun., 1853.

71) Papers Relative to Natives, 1835: Brief Sketch, 1823.

72) Theal, Records, XXXV, p. 332.

73) e.g. P. Accs. CCXVIII, 1855: D.W. Suhl, 5th Nov., 1854.

74) e.g. *ibid.*, CCXXI, 1863: Diary G., Jan. - Jun., 1863; Nchr. 3, 1878: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1877.

75) P. Accs. No. 25, 1896: Notes from the Western Province.

76) Papers Relative to Natives, 18th Mch., 1835: Brief Sketch, 1823.

X.

The Achievements of the Unitas Fratrum at Genadendal.

With the inauguration of the Georg Schmidt Memorial Church we come to the end of the period under discussion. This last effort by the congregation for which they provided most of the money and practically all the labour marks a turning point in the history of the community. The ideal of independence is far closer. In 1922 the first Church Conference at Elim acknowledged the independence of the Western Province in South Africa. The decisions of the new branch of the Church of the Unitas Fratrum are, however, still subject to the assent of the Mission Directory.¹⁾

The civic community at Genadendal also moved towards independence. This was eventually reached with the application of the Mission Land Act in 1926. The Rules and Regulations proved too weak to maintain order in the village. Attempts by the Superintendent P.O. Hennig (1894-1909) to improve them were ineffective. The missionaries were in favour of introducing the Mission Land Act at the earliest possible date and tried to persuade the inhabitants to their view. This would have relieved them of the arduous task of looking after the secular problems of the community, but the majority opposed such a move. 1914 brought further opposition to the introduction of the Act and the inhabitants emphatically stated that they would reject its application. The 1914-18 War prevented further efforts at persuasion by the missionaries.

Soon after the war, however, matters came to a head. Four inhabitants of Genadendal took the Trustees of the Moravian Missionary Society to court demanding a declaration of the rights of the inhabitants. They demanded that an interdict be proclaimed restraining the defendant from proceeding with any transactions, that the system of native relief in the village be revised and that costs be awarded to the plaintiffs. The case was decided in favour of the Trustees and they were awarded costs.

This again showed up the difficult position in which the missionaries and the 'Opsienar Konferensie' were. When, therefore, the magistrate at Caledon enquired about the best way out, the Superintendent of the 'Opsienar Konferensie', rev. L.K. Schmidt replied:

¹⁾ L.K. Schmidt, Die Broederkerk, p. 11-18.

"The only way out of the most dangerous position ... is, to accept the New Act, the Mission Land Act, which will under a new principle declare, who is a resident, and which Act will have the power to protect the rights of the lawful residents of Genadendal."

The then Minister of Native Affairs, after a visit to Genadendal, strongly advised the community to accept the Act. On the 10th, June, 1926 the ^{4th} 'Opsieners Konferensie' was held with rev. L. A. Schmidt in the chair. Henceforth the new raad van Beheer which is still functioning in Genadendal took over responsibility for the secular affairs of the community.²

The main criticism of the Moravian missionstation in general and Genadendal in particular was that they did not allow their charges enough freedom to learn to stand on their own feet. This charge was raised in the 1850ies by the colonists. One colonist with particular reference to Genadendal, maintained that he preferred by far a Coloured labourer who had never seen a mission station to a person who had lived in one. They also claimed that there were only two independent traders at Genadendal and hardly any tradesmen.³) This is in fact the criticism levied against the Moravian stations in general. The system of 'tutelage' practised in them has been compared to the paternalistic policy of the Jesuits in Southern America two to three centuries earlier.⁴) As we have seen there was 'tutelage' at Genadendal, if by this term is meant the policy of keeping temptations away and of 'coercing' the residents to work by rewards and punishments. After 1816, however, the 'Opsieners' must have exercised some influence on the decisions of the missionaries. They were entitled to advise the Brethren on the question of the reversion of land to the institution when it was not properly tilled by its tenants.⁵) They were also required to advise the missionaries on questions of expulsion, admission and readmission. Their advice sometimes went against the wishes of the Brethren but was nevertheless followed.⁶) The conclusion is that the 'tutelage' was imposed with the purpose of preparing the Coloured community for self govern-

²) L. A. Schmidt, Die Glaslike Bestuur.

³) C. of G. H. 1856: Interrogation of Caledon farmers; c.f. Kibbing's letter to Select Committee, 15th Apr., 1856, which mentions four retailers.

⁴) K. S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity. 1943. Vol. V, p. 342.

⁵) Appendix A II, 4.

⁶) C. I. Latrobe, p. 398-402. Appendix, A, III, 11.

ment. The missionaries themselves would gladly have been rid of this responsibility.⁷⁾ We have also seen in Chapter VII that the missionaries encouraged independent tradesmen in the village. Trading was not prohibited, especially if carried out by Coloured residents.⁸⁾

There were definite reasons for the maintenance of the system throughout the century under discussion. The first was that Genadendal was economically in an unsound position and an opening up of Genadendal to European competition would have caused the dispersal of the Coloured inhabitants because they owned so little land. Nor did they have the economic resources to meet 'white' competition.⁹⁾ Apart from this the missionaries were of the opinion that the Coloureds did not possess sufficient experience to look after their own economic interests as was set forth in Chapter II. While the missionaries were fighting to maintain a compact congregation which was necessary for the progress of their missionary work, they also fought for the economic security of the population of Genadendal. They realised far more clearly than the governments and especially the representative and responsible governments of the Cape after 1853, that the Coloureds were in a difficult intermediate position and that they needed legal protection from virile and sometimes unscrupulous competition of 'whites'. These were the reasons why the missionaries clung so tenaciously to their 'grants'.¹⁰⁾ The majority of the Coloured inhabitants of the institution appreciated what was being done for them by the missionaries:

"Upon visiting the Moravian mission, we found the Hottentots duly impressed with a sense of the benefit which they had derived from the pious instructions of the brethren, and with strong feelings of respect for their characters; nor did we find that those impressions had been impaired by the example of deference which the Moravian missionaries have uniformly shown to the wishes and measures of the Government."¹¹⁾

In spite of the fact that the colonists bracketed the Brethren and the English together in 1797,¹²⁾ the Moravian

7) Mehr. 11. & 12. 1864: Ber. G., Jan. - Jun., 1864.

8) C. of G. H. C.R. Kibing to Select Committee, 15th April, 1856.

9) *ibid.*, (same as note 8).

10) P. Accs. No. 32, 1897: The 'grant' stations and their importance for the natives. - P.O. Hennig.

11) Theal, Records, xxxv, p. 332.

12) Kms. P. Accs. Journal Bk1f. 1797.

missionaries were not attacked as virulently by them as those of the London Missionary Society.¹³⁾ The probable reason is that the Moravians although they held views similar to those of the missionaries of the L.M.S., did not publicise their views. With regard to mission method there were, probably more similarities between the work of the Moravian Brethren and that of the L.M.S. than dissimilarities. The basis of the stations was the same, that is the realisation that missionary work was impossible without the gathering of large communities. The differences are differenced in detail such as the fact that there were always at least three or four missionaries on the stations of the United Brethren, whereas there were very seldom more than one or two on the L.M.S. stations. Some L.M.S. stations even used a system of reward or punishment for industry as described for Genadendal.¹⁴⁾

In comparison with such stations as Lovedale of the Glasgow Missionary Society Genadendal shows many differences. Lovedale was founded in a populous area where the establishment of a village community was unnecessary. The missionaries at Lovedale were thus not burdened with the task of taking responsibility for and civilising such a village. From the beginning Lovedale was far more an educational centre than an emerging Christian population centre.

Although Genadendal to-day compares very unfavourably with an institution such as Lovedale, the missionaries of the *Unitas Fratrum* can claim to have done both great Christianising and great civilising work at Genadendal. In their Christianisation of the Hottentots and the slaves they were successful. To-day Genadendal is a congregation that is practically independent and served by a minister from the ranks of the Coloured people. Their civilising work appears not to have been quite so successful because of circumstances beyond their control. The economic self-sufficiency of the community at Genadendal as the Brethren envisaged it was incompatible with the influx of goods from industrialised Europe and with the process of industrialisation within the Union. To-day Genadendal, although served by twelve retailers, still gives the impression of being a poor community which depends for its livelihood on the labour it can sell outside the settlement. The function of Genadendal to-day is to

¹³⁾ P. Accs. No. 335, 1882: Retrospect of the Missionary work of the Moravian Church during the past 150 years.

¹⁴⁾ CO 102 Answers to queries by Missionaries at Pacaltsdorp, Theopolis, and Bebbelsdorp, I.G. Messer, I.G. Ullbricht, & G. Barker, respectively, Dec., 1819.

provide the Coloureds with a home and some of them with land.¹⁵⁾ What is perhaps more significant, it also provides many Coloured children with a fairly good education. The Genadendal school, run entirely by Coloureds to-day, has the reputation of being one of the best Coloured schools in the country.¹⁶⁾

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15) J.B. Marais, p. 255.

16) S. Patterson, Culture and Colour in South Africa. (A Study of the Status of the Cape Coloured People within the Social Structure of the Union of South Africa.) London. 1953.

Appendix A.¹⁾Reglementen van het Instituut te Gensdendal,
Herzien en vermeerderd in 1852.Hoofdstuk 1.

Omtrent Christelijke leer, KerkGemeenschap, en Algemeene, Zedelijke en Maatschappelijke Plichten.

1. Gods Woord, vervat in de heilige boeken van het Oude en Nieuwe testament, is de eenigste regel en grondslag van onze leer en van ons gedrag, en wij zijn dus, als eene christengemeente plichtmatig gehouden zorgvuldig te waken, dat Gods Woord onder ons in dezelfde zuiverheid worde geleerd, en dat het gedrag van de leden der gemeente overeenkomstig deszelfs voorschriften zij.
2. Wij beschouwen het als een heiligen plicht, naarstig en met gepasten eerbied de verschillende gelegenheden bij te wonen, welke ons alhier verleend worden tot onderwijs en opbouw, dat des te noodzakelijker is, daar een groot aantal onder ons niet lang geleden onkundige heidenen waren, die groote behoefte aan onderwijs hebben.
3. Het is vooral onze plicht den Sabbath waartenemen, als een dag van rust en godsdienst, en wij zullen dus alles vermijden, waardoor deze dag des Heeren wordt ontheiligt.
4. Als een christengemeente achten wij het onzen plicht om alle vlijt aantewenden, dat de Heilige Sacramenten, namelijk, de Heilige Doop en het Heilig Avondmaal, onder ons bediend worden volgens de instelling van Christus en met gepasten eerbied door de leden der gemeente worden gevierd.
5. Wij moeten gereed zijn, om een ieder te antwoorden, die ons de reden vraagt van de hoop, welke in on is (1 Petr. iii, 15), maar wij verlangen nuttelooze en twistige gesprekken (Rom. xiv, 1) met menschen van andere gezindten te vermijden.
6. Wij beschouwen al diegenen, die herboren zijn tot eene levendige hoop door den Heiligen Geest, ofschoon zij van ons in geringer punten mogen verschillen, als broeders en zusters in Christus, met welke wij verlangen in vrede en christelijke gemeenschap te verkeer. Wij zijn, echter, niet minder dankbaar aan God voor onze meer onmiddellijke vereeniging met de Protestantsche kerk van Vereenigde Broeders, hetgeen wij als eene bijzondere gunst aan ons verleend beschouwen, en van hier kunnen wij niemand als een onder wijzer onder ons beschouwen, die niet benoemd is door de directie van gemelde kerk.
7. Wij verfoeien alle soort van afgoderij, waardoor wij verstaan nie alleen het aanbidden van beelden (hetgeen gelukkig onder ons onbekend is) maar alle soorten van bijgeloof, zoo als waarzeggerij en andere heidensche dwaasheden daarmede in verband staande.
8. Niet minder verfoeien wij al het vloeken en zweren en het gebruiken van Gods naam op eene lichtaannige en onbedachtzame wijze.
9. Maar wij beschouwen het zoowel ons voorrecht als onzen plicht, onder een gevoel van menschelijke zwakheid, en van de menigvuldige gevaaren van ziel en lichaam, waarmede wij omringd zijn, om den naam des Heeren in het gebed aan te roepen, en van hier wordt haastelijke godsdienst eterk aanbevolen aan al de ingezetenen dezer plaats.
10. Overeenkomstig Gods Woord, hetwelk beveelt - zij alle menschelijke ordening onderdanig om des Heeren wil; hetzij den koning, als de opperste macht habbende; hetzij den stadhouderen, als die van hem gezonden worden (1 Petr. ii, 13. 14).

¹⁾ Taken from a copy of the 'Gemeente Ordeningen' printed at Gensdendal, 1795. The 1827 Rules and Regulations from CO 611 containing an English copy sent by Leutsch to the Civil Commissioner in 1851.

zijn wij allen verplicht ons als getrouwe onderdanen te gedragen, en stiptelijk gehoorzaam te zijn aan de wetten van het land, waar ons lot georpen is.

11. Onze regulatien kunnen dus de wetten van de kolonie niet hinderen of dezelve vervangen. Wanneer onder ons de crimineele wetten overtreden worden, (hetgeen God verhoede) beschouwen wij het onzen plicht om dit aan de bevoegde autoriteiten bekend te maken.

12. Het is onze plicht om alle menschen lief te hebben, zelfs onze vijanden; wij zullen dus zorg dragen om niemand te beledigen; maar integendeel, trachten om het geestelijk en tijdelijk welzijn onzer medemenschen te bevorderen.

13. Wij moeten dus alles vermijden, zoowel in woorden als daden, waardoor wij anderen aanstoot zouden kunnen geven, of hen van den weg van plicht aftrekken.

14. Wij beschouwen niet alleen moord, diefstal, meeneed, bedrog en andere zonden, welke volgens de wetten van het land strafbaar zijn, als grove overtredingen, maar wij rekenen ook rijd, toorn, kwaadspreken, vechten, twisten, achterklap, leugen, enz., als werken der duisternis, van welke wij met nadruk moeten trachten verlost te worden.

15. Onze onderhandelingen met onze medemenschen moeten gekenmerkt worden door de stipte oplettendheid op waarheid en eerlijkheid; wie ook zijn naasten bedriegt of onbehoorlijk voordeel van hem trekt, verbeurt zijne voorrechten als lid van onze kerk.

16. Wij verlangen, zoo veel in ons is, in vrede te leven met alle menschen, en dus zullen wij, met genoegen, elke gelegenheid to baat nemen, om onzen naaste te dienen, zoo ver dit in ons vermogen is, en trachten het voorbeeld van Jesus te volgen, om verleid te zijn godd voor kwaad te vergelden.

17. Van elken bewoner dezer plaats wordt verwacht, dat hij vriendelijk en beleefd zij jegens alle menschen, en alle brutaliteit en alle gemeenheid, zoowel in woorden als gebaren, vermijde; dit is meer bijzonder de plicht van jonge menschen jegens hen, die meer in jaren gevorderd zijn.

18. Wij achten het onzen plicht, om oplettend te zijn op al hetgeen dienstig is voor gezondheid, bijvoorbeeld, zindelijkheid, gepaste kleeding, geschikte gezonde woningen, enz.

19. Van elken ingezetene dezer plaats wordt vereischt, dat hij getrouw en vlijtig werke volgens Gods wil, en op zijne hoede zij tegen luiheid.

20. Aan den anderen kant moeten wij zorg dragen, dat wij ons niet in de zaken dezes leven s op zulk eene wijze inwikkelen, dat wij de meer gewichtige belangen der eeuwigheid verwaarloosen.

21. Hetgeen wij door eerlijke nijverheid verdiend hebben, moeten wij beschouwen als gaven Gods, en dazelve dus met dankbaarheid, gematigheid en zuinigheid gebruiken.

22. Wij zullen niet vergeten, dat wij geroepen zijn om God te verheerlijken in lichaam en in geest, die God's zijn, en dat wij dus verplicht zijn te ontvlieden alle zonden, welke lichaam en ziel verderven en verlagen, zoo als, hoererij, overspel, vraatsucht, dronkenschap, het rooken van dacha, enz.

23. Wij beschouwen het heilig huwelijk als eene instelling van Goddelijken oorsprong en van levendig aanbelang voor de instandhouding van gezellige orde; wij zijn dus verplicht, in dit opzicht, te handelen volgens Gods woord en de daargestelde orders van de Christelijke kerk.

24. (Zoo als herzien in 1857.) Leden van het instituut, hetzij ge doop of anderszins, die wenschen te trouwen, na verloofd te zijn geworden in de tegenwoordigheid van hunne ouders en de zendingen, moeten hunne huwelijken laten afkondigen en in de kerk getrouwd worden. (As in 1827: Baptized members of our congregation after betrothal before parents and missionaries must appear before the Matrimonial Court before they can be married in church.)

25. (Zooals herzien in 1857) De zoodanige, die vroeger met elkander hebben geleefd, beloven, wanneer zij tot het Instituut worden toegelaten, om zich in hunnen gehurden staat te gedragen, volgens de beginsels van het christendom, en behooren aanzoek te doen om bij de eerste gelegenheid wettiglijk getrouwd te worden; ingeval zij hunne belofte verbreken, worden zij op dezelfde wijze behandeld als of zij wettiglijk waren getrouwd geweest. (As in 1827: Such peopl as have previously cohabited, promise on entering the institution to adhere to Christian marriage principles and in case of breach of promise are treated in the same manner as if they had been regularly married.)
26. (Weggelaten in 1857.) (As in 1827: Unbaptized who want to marry and cannot appear before a Matrimonial Court or be married in church are married privately before Missionaries with only their next of kin present. The union is afterwards made known to the congregation. They must adhere to rules of the Christian Church, as if married before the congregation.)
27. Wanneer een lid van het Instituut een persoon trouwt, daartoe niet behoorende, op eene geregelde en wettige wijze, wordt hij daardoor niet uitgesloten van kerkgemeenschap met ons, maar het moet, in elk zoodanig geval overgelaten worden aan hen, die het opzicht hebben over het instituut, om te beslissen, of zijn wederhelft kan toegelaten worden als een inwoner van de plaats.
28. Wie ook op eene ongeregelde wijze te samen verkeert, of schuldig is aan overspel, kan geenszins een lid van het instituut blijven, en afwijkingen van de regels van de deugd en kuisheid zijn onderworpen aan kerkelijke tucht, bestaande naar gelang van omstandigheden, in private of openbare uitsluiting van de gemeenschap en de voorrechten van gedoopte leden.
29. Het is een zeer belangrijke plicht van hen, die God met kinderen gezegend heeft, of die de kinderen van anderen hebben aangenomen, om hen op te voeden in de leering en vermaning des Heeren, hetgeen in zich bevat dat zij vroegtijdig bekend gemaakt worden met hunnen Schepper en Verlosser, dat men hen de school en kerk laat bijwonen; dat zij gewend worden aan gehoorzaamheid en vlijt, en dat de ouders hen niet alleen geen aanstoot geven, maar zoo veel mogelijk waken over hen, opdat zij niet door anderen verleid worden, enz.
30. (Zoo als herzien in 1857.) Men verwacht van de ouders en voogden, dat zij hunne kinderen naar de school zenden op den ouderdom van vier jaren, opdat zij in de gelegenheid mogen zijn om onderwezen te worden, alvorens zij geroepen worden om hun brood met dagelijkseken arbeid te verdienen. (As in 1827: It is expected of parents or guardians to send their children to school at the age of 6 so that they may have an opportunity to be instructed before they are called upon to earn their bread by daily labor.)

Hoofdstuk II.

Omtrent uitwendige Orde en Regelmaticheid van het Instituut.

1. Met het doel om te waken tegen wanorde en geschillen, is het noodig dat elk huisgezin afzonderlijke woningen hebbe, en dat all ongetrouwde personen eene vaste woning hebben, welke zij niet mogen veranderen zonder verlof van hen, die benoemd zijn om het toezicht te houden over het Instituut.
2. Het bouwen van stevige huizen wordt sterk aanbevolen, maar van welken aard de woning en andere erven ook mogen zijn, zal de bewoner verplicht zijn dezelve zindelijk, schoon en in goede reparatie te houden, zoowel van binnen als van buiten.
3. De inspectie over het bouwen van huizen is opgedragen aan een der zendelingen, wiens werken de ingezetenen verplicht zijn te gehoorzamen, zoowel wanneer zij nieuwe woningen bouwen of oude vergrooten.
4. (Zoo als herzien in 1857) Opsichters worden ook benoemd om tuiggrond en ploegland uit te deelen, en het is tevens

hun plichten te waken, dat van het land aldus uitgedeeld, behoorlijk begruik worde gemaakt. Een ieder dus, die nalatig is om zijn grond te bebouwen, moet aan zijn plicht herinnerd worden, en wanneer hij in zijne nalatigheid voortgaat, moet hij verwachten, dat het gebruik van het land aan een ander zal gegeven worden, daar hetzelfde niet alleen onnuttig voor hem is, maar ook nadeelig voor de angrenzende tuinen, wordende hunne gemaelden dikwijls door muizen ~~en~~ en andere schadelijke dieren vernield, die zich op de onbebouwde plaatsen schuilen. (As in 1827: Overseers are (formerly a missionary) appointed to distribute garden ground and plough-land, and to see that this land is properly made use of. Neglected land may be given to someone else to cultivate as it may not only harm the owner but also his neighbours as uncultivated land harbours mice, etc.)

5. Alle geschillen omtrent vruchtboomen, heiningen, de grenzen van tuinen, bevochtiging enz., moeten ter eerste instantie gebracht worden voor den inspecteur van tuinen.

6. Niemand mag vruchtboomen in eens anderstuin bezitten, waardoor zoo lichtelijk geschillen ontstaan. Daarom is de gewoonte om vruchtboomen aan kinderen en aanverwanten te geven, zeer onbehoorlijk, en waaruit dus geschillen ontstaan; de eenigste manier om dezelve afte doen, is, dat de bezitter van den tuin de boomen moet koopen, of dezelve moeten weggenomen worden.

7. Vruchtboomen moeten ten minste zes voet van de grenslijn van de tuin geplaatst worden: waar deze regel verwaarloosd wordt en dus geschillen ontstaan, zal gevorderd worden of de takken afte knippen, welke over den naburigen tuin hangen, of, waar dit onmogelijk is den boom te verplanten.

8. (Zoo als herzien in 1857). Een ieder heeft de vrijheid om zijn huis of het bezitrecht van zijn tuin aan eenig ingezetenen van de plaats te verkoopen, waarvan echter behoorlijke kennis moet gegeven worden aan hen, die het opzicht over het Instituut hebben, maar het land kan niet worden verkocht, omdat het slechts bezeten wordt als individueel eigendom, onder de reglementen van het Instituut. (As in 1827: Everyone is at liberty to sell his house and opstal and his right of occupation of his garden to any other inhabitant of the place of which, however, due notice must be given to those who superintend the institution, but the land cannot be sold because it is only occupied as individual property under the Regulations of the Institution. Marginal Note: The price paid for improvements, inheritance were not interfered with by the missionaries, land garden, arable land etc. was given gratis.)

9. (Zoo als herzien in 1857). Niemand kan zijn huis of tuin of eenig gedeelte daarvan alhier verkoopen, of geven, of verhuren, of vermaken aan menschen, die niet toegelaten zijn als inwoners van de plaats. (As in 1827: No one can sell, bequeath or let an opstal to a person not a member of the institution.)

10. Wanneer een bewoner de plaats verlaat, zonder dat hij, met toestemming van den inspecteur van tuinen, zijn land en tuin aan de zorg van een ander heeft opgedragen, en voor een langen tijd afwezig blijft, zonder kennis daarvan te geven, kan het land en de tuin aldus woest gelaten, na twee jaren tot gebruik aan een ander gegeven worden.

11. Een einds, zoo veel mogelijk, te beletten, dat iemand schade lijdt op zijn eigendom, zijn de volgende voorzorgen noodzakelijk:-

- a. Dat de tuinen goed omheind worden.
- b. Dat een genoegzaam getal oppassers zorg dragen voor het gezelschap op het land.
- c. (Nagelaten in 1857.) (As in 1827: That one or more herdsmen be appointed to look after the cattle.)
- d. Dat vee en paarden goed verzekerd worden gedurende den nacht.
- e. Dat geene varkens op de plaats los loopen.

12. Het wordt verboden om paarden en vee aan de heiningen te binden, waardoor zij beschadigd worden, en een groot aantal tuinen dus worden opengesteld voor het indringen van vee.
13. Zij, die koorn gezaaid hebben, moeten op hunne beurt de wacht houden op het land, en wanneer zij niet in persoon kunnen tegenwoordig zijn, moeten zij plaatsvervangers verschaffen.
14. (Weggelaten in 1857.) (As in 1827: Possessors of cattle must contribute in equal proportions to maintenance of a herdsmen.)
15. (Zooals herzien in 1857) Een of meer private schutplaatsen zijn daargesteld in het Instituut voor het vee van inwoners, op de tuinen of koornlanden van andere inwoners overtreddende; de kosten worden bepaald door eene bijeenkomst van opzichters, maar in geen geval de kosten te bovengaan, welke betaald worden in publieke schutplaatsen van het distrikt. (As in 1827. If damage is done in spite of these precautions, the sufferer can request two overseers to value the loss and who has caused the loss remunerates the sufferer. If he considers the valuation too high he can appeal to the missionaries or whole body of overseers.)
16. De Opzichters krijgen geen belooning voor hunne moeite, wanneer die zich bepaalt tot de tuinen van de plaats; maar wanneer zij moeten gaan naar de koornlanden, waardoor zij ten minste een halven dag verliezen, moet vier en een halve penny betaald worden aan elken opzichter, door hem, die zijne tegenwoordigheid verzoekt, hetgeen, wanneer zijne klachte gegrond is, terug betaald moet worden door hem, die de schade veroorzaakt heeft.
17. Wanneer schade gedaan wordt aan hetgeen de maatschappij in het algemeen toebehoort, bij voorbeeld, aan plantagen, heining van begraafplaatsen, enz., wordt de waarde van de schade in de armen kas gestort.
18. Ter voorkoming van schade, wordt van een ieder gevorderd, om behoedzaam te zijn met vuur, soowel op plaatsen als op de velden. Niemand mag de velden branden, zoolang het graan niet ingeoogt is, noch in de nabijheid van plantagen buiten weten van hen, die er het opzicht over hebben.
19. Niemand wordt belet om zijne klachte te brengen voor een kagistraat; maar, wanneer ook geschillen ontstaan tusschen de inwoners van de plaats, is het hun plicht ter eerste instantie, hunne zaak voor de opzichters of zendelingen te brengen, en te trachten hunne geschillen door hunne bemiddeling afteendoen. Wie ook dit nalaat, kan niet beschouwd worden een waardig lid van onze gemeenten te zijn.
20. Geen inwoner wordt toegelaten eenigen vreemdeling in zijn huis te overnachten, zonder kennis te geven aan, en verlof te bekomen van de zendelingen of opzichters door hen benoemd om zulke kenniugevang aan te nemen. Wie ook zulk een bezoeker huisvest, moet een waakzaam oog op hem of haar houden, en hem of haar niet laten handelen tegen de regels van het instituut. Door vreemdelingen beddelen wij ook zulke individuen, die hun recht verbeurd hebben om in het etablissement te blijven.
21. Na de avond-bijeenkomsten in de kerk, gaat een ieder naar zijne woning terug, en niemand wordt toegelaten in het etablissement rond te wandelen, tenzij gedrongen door noodwendigheid, bij voorbeeld: ziekte, plicht, of dergelijke.
22. Om tegen ongeregeldeheden te waken, is het noodig dat het verkeer tusschen de twee seksen stiptelijk zij volgens de regels van zedelijkheid, en dat onze jeugd, in het bijzonder, zooveel mogelijk onder toezicht sta.
23. Onnoodige bijeenkomsten van jonge lieden, vooral in den avond, kunnen ons niet gedoogd worden; en alle onbehoorlijke spelen, vermaken en uittepanningen, waardoor de onheilige driften worden opgewekt, moeten ophouden.

24. Ouders en voogden moeten nimmer toelaten dat de jonge menschen onder hunne zorg overnachten in de huizen van andere families zonder hunne toestemming, en wie ook zulke jonge menschen in zijn huis ontkant, is verantwoordelijk voor het kwaad, dat daaruit geboren wordt.

25. (Zoo als herzien in 1857.) Niemand mag wijn en sterke dranken in het etablissement brengen, behalve eene matige hoeveelheid voor eigen onmiddellijk gebruik, of eene licentie bekomen ter verkoop van wijn en sterke dranken. Die dezen regel overtreedt, is verantwoordelijk voor de onlusten daardoor veroorzaakt; en wanneer hij in dat gebruik volhardt, moet hij beschouwd en behandeld worden als een verleider en dienvolgens uitgezet worden. (As in 1827: Same: remark added; on copy sent to Civil Commissioner: the managers have for a long time no longer supplied small quantities of wine on the spot.)

26. Al de inwoners zijn verplicht om een gelijk deel te nemen in het repareeren van wegen en waterloopen, het in order houden van de begraafplaats, het verlichten van de kerk, aan requisities van het Gouvernement en andere plichten van een gelijken aard.

26. a. (Bijgevoegd in 1857.) Ouders, die kinderen hebben, geschikt om naar school te gaan, behooren hen naar de school te zenden, en de school ongeldeen te betalen.

27. Een ieder is verplicht om te zorgen voor het schoon houden der wegen en voetpaden, zoover de grond, wáken hij besit, zich uitstrekt, en bijzonder op te letten, dat het water niet worde bevuild.

28. Zij beschouwen ons verplicht, te zorgen voor de armen en zieken, zoo ver onze omstandigheden dit gedoogen. De kosten, daaraan verbonden, moeten betaald worden uit de armen kas, welke dus ten sterkste aanbevolen wordt aan de gunstige overweging van al de leden van het instituut.

29. Wanneer een individu aansoek doet om tot het instituut toegelaten te worden, worden zijne beweegredenen, zijn vroeger gedrag en zijne uitwendige omstandigheden nauwkeurig onderzocht, en wanneer er geene objectien in deze opzichten bestaan, wordt hij bekend gemaakt met de reglementen van het instituut, en hij belooft, op eene plechtige wijze, zich volgens deze reglementen en Gods woord te gedragen; waarna hem vrijheid wordt verleend, om alhier te verblijven, over het algemeen, ter eerste instantie, als eene proefneming. Zij die alhier geboren en opgevoed zijn, hebben, toen zij als leden der gemeente werden aangenomen, beloofd, dezelve reglementen te zullen gehoorzamen.

30. wanneer zij, die op deze voorwaarden waren aangenomen, in vervolg van tijd, berouw mogen hebben over den stap door hengenomen, hebben zij ten allen tijde de vrijheid om het instituut te verlaten, behoorlijk hunne zaken te hebben verveffend. Maar zij hebben geen recht om hier langer te blijven, dan zij voldoen aan de voorwaarden, waarop zij zijn toegelaten geworden, ofschoon zij geduldig zullen worden verdragen, zoolang zij niet verleiders van anderen zijn en de uitwendige regulaties van de plaats eerbiedigen.

31. (Zoo als herzien in 1857.) Op dezelfde wijze zullen wij geduld uitoefenen jegens hen, die hier opgevoed zijn, zoo lang zij niet de reglementen van het instituut trotseeren, in welk geval maatregelen moeten genomen worden om hen te doen verhuizen of te verdrijven, tot dat zij berouw betoonen over hun gedrag. (As in 1827: The same applies to natives of the place, who are expelled if they defy the rules. Such expulsions are not prohibited from visiting friends and relatives in the place, but they may not acquire land, or an opstal. They may be readmitted after one or more years of good conduct.)

Hoofdstuk III.Omtrent het Toeverzicht van het Instituut.

1. De reglementen van het Instituut zijn niet wetten door de zendingen voorgeschreven, maar eene broederlijke overeenkomst tusschen al de inwoners der plaats, in de behoorlijke betrachting waarvan een ieder even veel belang heeft. Daarom verwacht men van elken inwoner, dat hij niet alleen zich die overeenkomstig gedraagt, maar ook, dat hij zijne beste pogingen zal aanwenden, om eenige inbreuk daarop door andere te beletten.
2. (Zoo als herzien in 1857.) Maar daar het onmogelijk is, om in eenige samenleving orde te bewaren, althans gegrand op reglementen vrijwillig aangenomen, tenzij bijzondere personen belast worden om te waken voor de nakoming van zulke reglementen, zoo hebben de leden van dit instituut het oppertoezicht daarvan opgedragen aan de zendingen, achttien kerkelijke ambtenaren en vijf-en-twintig opzieners, die zij gewillig zijn te eeren en te gehoorzamen. (As in 1827: The members of the Institution have entrusted superintendence thereof to the Missionaries, 14 Church Servants and 18 Overseers, whom they are willing to honor and obey.)
3. Deze superintendents van het instituut zijn niet gezachtigd om wetten aan de overigen voor te schrijven, of zich in te laten met zulke zaken als tot het civiel gouvernement van de kolonie behooren, bijvoorbeeld, het heffen van boeten het opleggen van straffen, enz.
4. Hunne plichten zijn als volgt: -
 - a. Om de kerkelijke tucht te bewaren.
 - b. Om te trachten door stipte waaksaamheid wanorde en overtredingen tegen de wetten des lands en de gevestigde reglementen van het instituut te beletten.
 - c. Om geschillen te vereffenen tusschen de bewoners van het instituut op eene minzame wijze.
 - d. Om verlof van verblijf te geven aan nieuwe aankomers, en te ontslaan, die hun voorrecht om alhier te verblijven verbeurd hebben.
5. Het beheer van de kerkelijke tucht wordt opgedragen aan de zendingen alleen. Dezelve bestaat in bestraffingen, privaat of voor de vergaderde zendingen, in private of openbare uitsluiting (naar mate publieke aanstoot is gegeven of niet) van 's Heeren Avondmaal, of van alle kerkelijke voorrechten van gedoopte leden.
6. Alvorens iemand wordt uitgesloten heeft hij het recht om gehoord te worden in de tegenwoordigheid van al de zendingen.
7. De uitgesloten kan weder worden aangenomen, wanneer hij berouw betoont over zijne afdwalingen, en er reden bestaat te hopen op eene verandering van zijn gedrag.
8. In gevallen van herhaalde afdwalingen en onverbeterlijkheid, worden ook de uiterlijke weldaden van het instituut hem ontnomen, en als een laatste hulpmiddel, wordt hij uit het instituut gezet.
9. Daar de handhaving van orde onder ons hoofdzakelijk daarvan afhangt, dat wij in staat zijn kwaad te beletten waartoe een nauwgezetter oplettenheid op het godrag van individuen noodzakelijk is, dan de zendingen alleen kunnen uitoefenen, is een aantal opzieners, insluitende ook de kerkelijke ambten, onder ons benoemd geworden, met welke de zendingen ten minste een maal in de maan vergaderen, om in het vertrouwd te spreken over de belangen van het instituut, de gebreken aan te wijzen en plaatselijke schikkingen en verbeteringen voor te stellen, enz.
10. De plicht om geschillen te vereffenen beruht eigenlijk bij de opzieners, maar daar zij niet bij elke nietige gelegenheid kunnen vergaderen, wordt de loopende bezigheid van den dag door den eersten zending afgedaan, of, indien

nodig, door de vergaderde zendelingen, die in deze betrekking beschouwd moeten worden als de commissarissen van de opzieners, en in de volgende bijeenkomst van de opzieners moet hij elke gebeurtenis van aangelang rapporteeren; ingewikkelde zaken worden niet beslist alvorens de volle vergadering van opzieners is geraadpleegd.

11. Wanneer iemand tot het Instituut wordt toegelaten of daarvan ontslagen, wordt dit aan hem medegedeeld in het bijzijn van de vergaderde opzieners, of, waar dit niet kan geschieden, altijd met weten en toestemming van de opzieners.

12. De kerkelijke beampten, behalve hunne plichten als opzieners en om te leeten op zindelijkheid, ofde en regelmatigheid in de kerk, worden tevens benoemd om de zieken te bezoeken, en twee hunner, door de overige gekozen, benevnen een der zendelingen, hebben de zorg over de armen kas.

13. De kerkelijke beampten worden door de zendelingen benoemd, de andere opzieners worden gekozen door de avondmaalgangers van de gemeente, die huizen en tuinen op de plaats bezitten. Uit drie die het grootste getal stemmen hebben, hebben de zendelingen en opzieners het recht 66 te kiezen met meerderheid van stemmen.

14. Niemand behalve een avondmaalganger van de gemeente, die een bewoonde huis en een bebouwd tuin heeft, is verkiesbaar tot de betrekking van opziener.

15. Elke kerkelijke beampte of opziener, die zich schuldig maakt aan zulke ongergeldheden, dat hij openlijk moet uitgesloten worden, is tevens ontslagen van zijne bediening, maar hij kan bij eene volgende gelegenheid herkozen worden, ingeval hij zijn gedrag verbetert en nadat hij weder zal zijn toegelaten geworden tot zijne voorrechten als een lid van de kerk.

16. De bovenstaande regulatien* werden in de Hollandache taal voorgelezen in eene algemeene bijeenkomst van alle mannelijke volwassenen, die huizen en tuinen in Genadendal bezitten, op den vijftien Maart, 1827, en werden eenparig aangenomen. En zeven zendelingen, die tegenwoordig waren, werden verzocht dezelve in den naam en ten balange van de bijeenkomst te onderteekenen, en dezelve werden dienvolgens door ons onderteekend.

(Get.)

H. P. Hallbeck,
Joh. Lemmers,
C. Thomson,
Joh. Stein,
H. W. Voigt,
S. G. Schultz,
D. Luttring.

Goedgekeurd.

Op last van Zijne Edelheid den Euit. Gouverneur,

(Get.)

Richard Plasket,
Secretaris van het Gouvernement.

*Buiten alles dat gemerkt is als 'herzien in 1857'.

Hoofdstuk IV.

Nadere Regulatien bijgevoegd in 1857.

1. De zendelingen en opzieners zullen wanneer gevorderd, aan den civielen commissariss van de afdeeling, lijsten opmaken en overzenden van inwoners te Genadendal, en van de bevolking.

2. Geen inwoner te Genadendal, die niet een huis en bebouwd tuin van de jaarlijksche waarde van 25 bezit, zal het recht hebben te stemmen over eekig vraagstuk betrekkelijk de tijdelijke aangelegenheden van het instituut. De stemgerechtigden zullen op de lijsten gemerkt werden.

3. Geen inwoner te Genadendal zal zijn recht als inwoner verliezen, uitbottde van de afwezigheid van het instituut, zoolang hij zich fatsoenlijk en vlijtig gedraagt, mits dat niets daartegen bekend is, en mits ook dat de een of ander inwoner

inwoners de zorg zal of zullen hebben van het erf van den afwezige, indien eenige, en bekend is bij den superintendent als goedanige toezicht hebbende: hij kan te eeniger tijd weder toelating vorderen.

4. Wanneer een inwoner de Genadendal iemand trouwt, die niet tot dat instituut behoort, kan hij of zij toegelaten worden om aldaar te verblijven.

5. De zendingen, maar bijzonder de opzieners, zullen, zoo veel mogelijk, het verblijf van vreemdelingen en uitgesette inwoners op de landen van het instituut ten nadeele van de vlijtige inwoners, beletten.

6. Een inwoner kan uitgesloten worden van kerkelijke voorrechten, zonder daarbij zijne tijdelijke rechten als een inwoner te verbeuren; maar hij zal al zulke laatstgemelde rechten verbeuren, op verzoek van eenige der zendingen of opzieners, wanneer het, ten genoegen van den magistraat van dit distrikt bewezen wordt, dat hij, na redelijke waarschuwing, volhardt in het minachten van de tijdelijke reglementen van het instituut, en dat zijn gedrag en voorbeeld strekken tot zedenbederf der inwoners.

7. De voorgaande reglementen kunnen van tijd tot tijd door het Gouvernement verbeterd worden, op aanzoek der zendingen, benevens vier-vijfde van de inwoners gerechtigd om over tijdelijke aangelegenheden te stemmen, die tegenwoordig zullen zijn in eene bijeenkomst, speciaal tot dat einde belegd, na voorafgaande behoorlijke kennisgeving van het doel van zoodanig bijeenkomst, gedurende een tijdperk van ten minste drie maanden.

8. Het recht om vee te schutten, hetwelk op de weilanden overtredende gevonden wordt, beruht bij den toezienenden zending, of bij een of meer personen behoorlijk door hem gemachtigd; maar elke inwoner mag vee naar de schut brengen, dat in zijn tuin of koorzlanden overtreedt.

Goedgekeurd.

Op last van Zijne Excellentie den Gouverneur,
Get. Marsan A. Rawson,
Koloniaal Secretaris.

Appendix B.

Population Figures.

Year 31st Dec.	Com- muni- cants	Baptized. Adults	Chil- dren.	Candi- dates.	Total.	New People etc.	Exclud ded.*	Grand Total.
1795	8	21	4	29	62	-	-	-
1796	15	34	9	25	83	-	-	-
1797	18	47	19	52	136	-	-	-
1798	36	78	35	51	200	-	-	705
1799	65	126	103	77	332	-	-	1234
1803	87	135	120	88	430	-	-	1060
1807	108	204	145	89	547	-	8	747
1809	151	-	-	121	635	-	-	867
1810	223	182	258	108	769	-	-	993
1812	296	-	-	-	876	-	-	1083
1817	465	-	-	-	-	-	-	1377 ¹⁾
1818	453	255	397	-	-	-	-	1425 ¹⁾
1820	512	236	410	-	1158	-	-	1413
1822	534	258	421	77	1213	113 ²⁾	-	1403
1823	495	232	398	60	1125	116	-	1301
1824	496	223	389	-	1108	(134) ³⁾	-	1242
1825	511	192	389	40	1092	79	7	1211
1826	511	204	384	46	1099	40	-	1185
1827	529	214	386	27	1129	57	-	1213
1828	548	224	389	41	1161	64	-	1266
1830	592	230	378	39	1200	88	-	1327
1831	605	210	391	39	1206	74	-	1319
1832	610	222	388	-	1220	(107)	-	1327
1833	622	-	-	-	1231	-	-	1340
1834	627	-	-	-	-	-	-	1383
1835	627	211	398	52	1236	118	-	1406
1836	629	237	391	-	1257	(200)	-	1457
1838	639	-	-	-	1336	(353)	30	1719
1839	666	258	379	212	1303	484	14	2013
1840	693	-	-	-	-	-	-	2187
1841	726	406	473	266	1605 ⁴⁾	468	-	2359
1842	-	-	-	-	1933 ⁴⁾	518	51	2507
1843	-	1227 ⁵⁾	581	-	1808	(809)	-	2617
1844	810	438	649	244	1897	446	57	2644
1845	804	469	715	-	1988	(778)	-	2766
1846	864	491	786	266	2141	428	42	2837
1847	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2760
1848	890	438	862	168	2190	309	128	2795
1849	949	423	911	168	2283	282	113	2846
1850	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2894
1851	911	437	1020	154	2368	257	153	2932
1852	910	421	1026	137	2437	275	156	2925
1853	963	498	1094	125	2555	302	148	3050
1854	952	440	1155	130	2547	294	169	3140
1855	976	496	1156	124	2628	292	127	3171
1856	957	571	1197	-	2725	(602)	-	3345
1857	989	582	1182	128	2753	213	104	3198
1858	977	579	1209	137	2765	213	136	3251
1860	1018	593	1249	149	2860	177	135	3321
1861	1026	580	1212	129	2818	182	125	3294
1862	964	554	1228	129	2746	159	131	3175
1864 ⁶⁾	911	540	1250	121	2701	190	178	3190

Year	Com- muni- cants	Baptized. Adults	Child- ren.	Candi- dates.	Total.	New People etc.	Exclu- ded.*	Grand Total.
1866	802	525	1213	122	2540	251	213	3106
1867	767	536	1203	118	2506	246	217	3087
1868	735	537	1174	119	2446	269	232	3086
1869	720	508	1158	112	2386	335	255	3088
1870	421	285	1158	18	1864	365	(249)	2496
1871	409	290	1175	17	1874	387	260	2538
1873	368	305	1164	39	1857	449	361	2696
1874	398	321	1204	24	1923	445	283	2685
1875	383	318	1201	30	1902	500	294	2726
1876	392	237	1198	37	1827	540	292	2786
1877	406	322	1157	38	1885	554	295	2722
1881	486	514	1153	83	2153	604	227	3067
1882	461	533	1105	82	2099	559	220	2970
1887	451	565	1105	140	2121	478	196	2935
1888	442	539	1120	138	2101	485	203	2927
Barren:-								
1865	12	7	23	3	42	1	3	49
1870	19	16	47	2	82	-	7	91
1876	18	25	44	1	87	10	8	106
1880	21	20	47	1	88	9	8	106
1886	27	23	41	1	91	15	12	119
1889	26	24	41	-	91	17	15	123 ⁷⁾

* When the number of excluded persons is not given they are classed as New People.

1) From 1818 onwards the candidates for baptism are no longer included in the number given in the fifth column i.e. total congregation.

2) Includes unbaptized children.

3) Number in brackets: (134) means candidates for baptism are included.

4) Probably includes candidates for baptism for this year.

5) Includes Communicants.

6) Includes Kopjes Kasteel for this year.

7) For the years 1795 - 1799 H.G. Schneider, G., 1894 p. 166-7 is the main source, otherwise the numbers have been taken from the Exa. K. Accs., P. Accs., & Mehr. a.d. Arg.

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